

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XVIII

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1937

No. 4

THE RUMOUR OF RUSSIAN INTRIGUE IN THE REBELLION OF 1837

STUDENTS of Canadian history have commonly regarded the rebellion of 1837 as a purely domestic struggle between the radicals and the tories. With the exception of the aid received by the rebels from the hunter's lodges, it is generally agreed that there was no foreign intervention in the rebellion and certainly none by a European power. Contemporaries, however, had a different view on the matter. The *New York Morning herald* of November 12, 1838, reported that, "... as soon as the Russian cabinet heard of the outbreak in Canada, it was looked upon by that power as a favourable event, and that, if properly encouraged, it might lead to the downfall of the British Colonial System". It was further charged that "Russia is now reaching across the Atlantic, and is actually encouraging the elements of discord on the New York frontier, so that it may lead to a war between England and the United States in order to embarrass England in her relations with Europe and the East". During the same month a number of other newspapers in the United States and Canada¹ published reports of Russian interference, and on November 15, 1838, M. Pontois, the French ambassador to Washington, wrote to Paris that "... l'opinion énoncée ... dans ma correspondance, sur la part prise par la Russie aux troubles du Canada, semble avoir aujourd'hui, acquis une sorte de certitude morale, elle se trouve consignée dans plusieurs journaux Canadiens et Américains ...".²

Matters took a more serious turn when Henry Fox, the British minister to Washington, investigated the question and reported that President Van Buren "... hinted to me in conversation, in a manner which I cannot misunderstand ..." that Russia was

¹*Mackenzie's gazette*, Nov. 12, 1838; *New York Express*, Nov. 12, 1838; *Washington Chronicle*, Nov. 16, 1838; *Cobourg Star*, Nov. 22, 1838.

²Cited in *Nova Francia*, IV (2), 80.

financing the rebellion.³ Concrete evidence of the suspicion of the British government was furnished when on November 26, 1838, the Russian consul to Boston was arrested in Montreal and his baggage examined.⁴ Fox now ordered Stewart Derbishire, a London barrister and journalist who had been connected with Lord Durham's mission,⁵ to make a thorough examination of the matter. When the report was submitted on July 20, 1839, the evidence strongly indicated Russian intervention, and Derbishire concluded that, if the information he had obtained from various quarters was accurate, "... the Russian Government, and its Representatives here, are engaged in a criminal conspiracy against the British Crown, fomenting disaffection and promoting the cause of rebellion, among its subjects, and leagued with the desperadoes of American Society in schemes of unparalleled iniquity against the peace and honour of the British dominions on this Continent".⁶ A year later a two-volume work on Canada was published by T. R. Preston. In it the author devoted twelve pages to the question of Russian intrigue in Canada and concluded that there was "a strong degree of plausibility, to say the least", to the theory that the Russians were actively aiding the rebels.⁷

When this evidence is considered in conjunction with the fact that Anglo-Russian relations during this period were extremely strained,⁸ it is apparent that there may well have been some connection between the Russian government and the Canadian rebels. The purpose of this article is to examine the material available and, if possible, to arrive at some conclusion one way or the other.

An analysis of the evidence reveals a number of specific charges against Russia. It was charged that Schoultz and Hindenlang, two patriot volunteers who were captured by the loyalists, were Russian officers who had been sent to Canada to organize the rebel forces.⁹ It was further stated that Russian

³Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 224, pp. 298, 299: Fox to Colborne, Nov. 25, 1838.

⁴The newspapers attached great significance to the affair. See *New York Herald*, Dec. 8, 1838; *Mackenzie's gazette*, Dec. 15, 1838.

⁵For details, see "Stewart Derbishire's report to Lord Durham on Lower Canada, 1838" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVIII, March, 1937, 48-62).

⁶Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 225, p. 196: *Derbishire's report*.

⁷T. R. Preston, *Three years' residence in Canada, from 1837 to 1839*. . . (London, 1840), I, 241.

⁸Anglo-Russian interests clashed not only in the near east over the control of the straits and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but also in the middle east over Persia and the northern frontier of India.

⁹Preston, *Three years' residence in Canada*, I, 235, 236; Pontois to Comte Molé, Nov. 23, 1838 (*Nova Francia*, IV (2), 86).

agents in New York supplied the rebels with money¹⁰ and that the Russian minister in Washington took an active part in these proceedings.¹¹ Moreover, it was reported that there existed "a strict alliance between Papineau and the Russian Government"¹² and that Papineau had journeyed to Paris not to seek French aid but to obtain funds from Russia and to meet the tsar.¹³ Finally, the arrest of the Russian consul in Montreal was said to have revealed damaging evidence, and Derbshire reported that C. R. Ogden, the attorney-general who ordered the arrest, informed him that there was "... not the slightest doubt of the interference of the Russian ministers in America to promote the disaffection of the Colonies".¹⁴

The alleged connection between Schoultz, Hindenlang, and the Russian government can be disproved easily. Schoultz was a Polish revolutionist who had fled to the United States after the revolution of 1830 in Poland, while Hindenlang was a French radical of good family who had participated in the 1830 revolution and then emigrated to New York. According to their own detailed accounts made after their capture, they had been led to believe that the population of Canada was ready for revolution, that the British troops were disaffected and mutinous, and that large numbers of well-armed patriots were ready to be led across the frontier. Both were disillusioned and embittered after joining the patriots and both indignantly denounced the rebel leaders who had deceived them. On the eve of his execution Schoultz declared: "I only wish that those cowardly rascals, General Birge and Bill Johnson, might be punished . . . and I will die content."¹⁵ Similarly Hindenlang expressed his "strongest hatred and deepest contempt towards Dr. Nelson and his accomplices".¹⁶ It is apparent, then, that these two men, far from being Russian officers, were ardent revolutionists who had joined the patriots in the belief that they were striking a blow against British tyranny in Canada.

The reported activities of Russian agents in New York and the Russian ambassador in Washington were equally untrue. If, as the *New York Morning herald*¹⁷ claimed, "the finger of Russian

¹⁰Derbshire's report, 187.

¹¹New York *Morning herald*, Nov. 12, 1838.

¹²Derbshire's report, 185.

¹³Preston, *Three years' residence in Canada*, I, 232, 233.

¹⁴Derbshire's report, 174.

¹⁵New York *Express*, Dec. 17, 1838.

¹⁶Montreal *Herald*, Nov. 19, 1838.

¹⁷Nov. 12, 1838.

agents palpably appeared in certain movements among the Canadian refugees in New York", the British officials in Canada and the United States would soon have been aware of the situation as they were kept well informed by their agents. Yet an examination of their correspondence fails to reveal any indication that such interference had been discovered. Had there been any evidence of Russian intrigue, the British authorities would have instantly exposed it in view of the tension in Anglo-Russian relations and the current Russophobia in England. Van Buren's hint to Fox regarding Russian intrigue seems equally unfounded. The correspondence of the American secretary of state with the Russian minister and the Russian consul in Boston contains no reference to this question, although the American government would certainly have made strong representations if it had proof of any overstepping of the limits of diplomatic privilege. Moreover, Van Buren, who was receiving repeated protests from the British minister because of the open aid given to the rebels by American citizens, would have immediately seized upon any sign of Russian intervention as a means of deflecting British protests from Washington to Moscow. Apparently this was precisely what Van Buren was attempting to do when he dropped the hint to Fox. There is little doubt that this was merely a ruse with no basis upon fact. In the Van Buren papers is to be found a clipping of the *Morning herald* article with Van Buren's signature on the margin.¹⁸ It appears that the president noticed the article, had it clipped, and then attempted to use Russia as a means of diverting British attention from the hunters.

At any rate, the absence of any shred of evidence in the correspondence of the American and British officials indicates that the Russians could not have been engaged in the large-scale support to the rebels which was charged. In fact, Fox realized this from the outset and reported to Palmerston that "... some suspicion of duplicity must unavoidably attach to the language and conduct of the President".¹⁹

The non-intervention of Russia in Canada is further demonstrated by the attitude of the rebels towards the tsarist government. Practically every issue of *Mackenzie's gazette* contained some article denouncing Russian autocracy and supporting the

¹⁸Library of Congress, *Van Buren papers*, XXXIII, Nov. 12, 1838.

¹⁹Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 250, p. 340: Fox to Palmerston, confidential, Dec. 1, 1838.

cause of Polish independence. In fact, Mackenzie, striving to emphasize the harshness of tory reaction in Canada, published such headlines as "Russian policy in Lower Canada", "Russian slavery", and "Another Russian measure".²⁰ Similarly Papineau, far from consorting with the tsar and collecting Russian funds, wrote despairingly from Paris that "La cause du Canada est tout pour nous, mais est traitée trop légèrement en Europe".²¹ As for his attitude towards Russia, it was revealed in a letter in which he referred to Durham's order banishing the rebel prisoners to Bermuda as follows: "L'ambassadeur anglais à St. Petersbourg veut-il enchérir sur ta barbarie du système [*sic*] qu'il y a étudié?"²² Obviously, then, the Canadian rebels, far from looking to Russia for aid, regarded the tsar as a despot and an enemy to the cause of liberty for which they were struggling.

Finally, the arrest of the Russian consul in Montreal failed to reveal a particle of evidence incriminating the Russian government despite contemporary statements to the contrary. It appears that a notorious swindler, Bratich, alias Baron Fratellin, had been arrested in Montreal and had made a deposition that Madame Kirchen, wife of the Russian consul in Boston, was residing in Montreal and aiding the rebels. Immediately F. A. Young, the chief of police, passed on the information to Ogden, the attorney-general, and an investigation was ordered.²³ It was then discovered that not only was Madame Kirchen in Montreal, but that the consul himself was in the city and was about to leave for Boston. Suspicions were naturally aroused and he was placed under arrest, but as Governor-General Colborne reported: "... it being ascertained that he had come to Montreal for the purpose of removing his Daughters from a Convent and his Sons from the College where they had been educated, he was liberated after a few hours detention. He mentioned to me on his release that he had no doubt the information upon which he had been arrested must have proceeded from Fratellin, properly called Bratich of Trieste whose real name and occupation he had been the first to

²⁰*Mackenzie's gazette*, Aug. 4, 1838; Aug. 11, 1838; Sept. 15, 1838; Dec. 15, 1838.

²¹Public Archives of Canada, *Louis Perrault papers*, XIII, 77: Papineau to Louis Perrault, March 7, 1839.

²²Public Archives of Canada, *Roebuck papers*, 132: Papineau to J. A. Roebuck, July 28, 1838. Similarly the Lower Canadian rebel leader, O'Callaghan, in a letter to Louis Perrault, compared the oppression in Canada with the Russian tyranny in Poland (*Louis Perrault papers*, XIII, 131: O'Callaghan to Louis Perrault, May 29, 1839).

²³*Q*, vol. 258, p. 7: Young to Ogden, Nov. 24, 1838.

expose."²⁴ The day after the arrest Ogden sent a note to Kirchen expressing the hope that the arrest had caused no inconvenience and adding: "I am happy to have it in my power to add that the result of the Examination of your Papers have [*sic*] been such as to exonerate you from Suspicions . . ."²⁵ Such was the nature of the Kirchen affair upon which Derbshire and Preston placed so much emphasis and significance.

All the available evidence thus clearly indicates that Russia was in no way connected with the rebellions in Canada. The expressed opinions of the British officials of the time support this view. When Derbshire submitted his report, Fox sent copies of it to Colborne and to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur for examination. Colborne replied to Fox that the findings of Derbshire were not conclusive,²⁶ and in a despatch to Arthur he flatly stated that "I do not attach the least importance to the Statements which are supposed to warrant the conclusion that Russian Agency is employed in fomenting mischief and bad feeling in Canada and I am confident that no case has been made out".²⁷ In his reply to Fox, Arthur similarly expressed the belief that "... Mr. Derbshire's mind is somewhat too predisposed for the influence of rumour. Reports of precisely a similar character . . . had also reached me; and the result of all the investigations, I have been able to make has proved in an equal degree, vague and indecisive."²⁸ Fox in Washington held similar views from the outset. As early as December 7, 1838, when the rumours first cropped up, he had written to Colborne that "My own belief is, that the funds with which the conspirators are supplied, proceed from the wealthy citizens, merchants and land owners, in the great towns within the American frontier.— These villains are the real movers of the invasion of Canada; and they have a deep and permanent land-speculating interest in sustaining the movement."²⁹

²⁴G, vol. 249, p. 58: Colborne to Fox, Sept. 28, 1839. See also Q, vol. 258, pp. 3, 4: Colborne to Lord Glenelg, March 13, 1839.

²⁵Q, vol. 258, p. 9: Ogden to Kirchen, Nov. 27, 1838. It is impossible not to suspect Derbshire of duplicity when he wrote in his report that Ogden "... told me, in my passage through Montreal . . . that ample and conclusive proofs of the guilt of the Russian Consul had been laid before him, and that he entertained not the slightest doubt of the interference of the Russian ministers in America to promote the disaffection of the Colonies" (*Derbshire's report*, 174).

²⁶G, vol. 249, p. 58: Colborne to Fox, Sept. 28, 1839.

²⁷G, vol. 249, p. 56: Colborne to Arthur, Sept. 26, 1839.

²⁸G, vol. 241, p. 54: Arthur to Fox, Sept. 27, 1839. In a despatch to the Marquess of Normanby, Arthur similarly wrote, "... the more I have reflected on Mr. Derbshire's observations, and compared the bearing of his statements in support of them, the less confidence I am led to place on his suspicions" (Q, vol. 420, p. 240: Arthur to Marquess of Normanby, Oct. 15, 1839).

²⁹G, vol. 224, p. 334: Fox to Colborne, Dec. 7, 1838.

In conclusion, it is apparent that all the rumours and statements concerning Russian intrigue in Canada during the rebellion were quite unfounded. The explanation for their origin probably is to be found in the superheated atmosphere of suspicion and apprehension.³⁰ Even before the outbreak of the rebellion, the tension was such that when Pontois journeyed through Canada early in 1837, fears of a French plot began to be expressed and Palmerston demanded explanations from the French foreign minister.³¹ It is understandable, therefore, in the midst of hunters' raids and renewed rebellion in Lower Canada, that rumours of Russian intrigue should be heeded, particularly in view of the Kirchen affair and the insinuations of Van Buren. But it is equally clear that these rumours and beliefs had no foundation upon fact.

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³⁰Arthur expressed the opinion that perhaps the rumours were spread by the patriots themselves in order "... to insinuate that there were other sources beyond the aid they received from American citizens..." (*Q*, vol. 420, p. 25: Arthur to Marquess of Normanby, Oct. 15, 1839). No evidence is to be found to support this hypothesis.

³¹Comte Molé to Pontois, July 29, 1837 (*Nova Francia*, III (5), 278).

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN CANADIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT¹

WRITING at the end of a long period of rapid expansion in the English colonies and at a time when such expansion threatened imminent revolt, Adam Smith concluded that "Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies".² The second cause was elaborated at great length. The colonies of England conducted their governments upon a much less expensive plan and with a much less expensive ceremonial than those of France, Portugal, and Spain. The colonies of the latter countries had even more serious difficulties to contend with:

Such ceremonials are not only real taxes paid by the rich colonists upon those particular occasions, but they serve to introduce among them the habit of vanity and expence upon all other occasions. They are not only very grievous occasional taxes but they contribute to establish perpetual taxes of the same kind still more grievous; the ruinous taxes of private luxury and extravagance. In the colonies of all those three nations too, the ecclesiastical government is extremely oppressive. Tithes take place in all of them, . . . All of them besides are oppressed with a numerous race of mendicant friars, whose beggary being not only licensed, but consecrated by religion, is a most grievous tax upon the poor people, who are most carefully taught that it is a duty to give, and a very great sin to refuse them their charity. Over and above all this, the clergy are, in all of them, the greatest engrossers of land.

Fourthly, in the disposal of their surplus produce, or of what is over and above their own consumption, the English colonies have been more favoured, and have been allowed a more extensive market, than those of any other European nations [pp. 541-2].

The first cause was linked to the second and was described more briefly: ". . . the engrossing of uncultivated land, though it has by no means been prevented altogether, has been more

¹This paper was read before the economics section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Nottingham on September 11, 1937 and it follows in logical order: the chapter on "Transportation as a factor in Canadian economic history" in *Problems of staple production* (Toronto, 1933), 1-17; "Unused capacity as a factor in Canadian economic history" (*Canadian journal of economics and political science*, 11, Feb., 1936, 1-15); "Introduction to the Canadian economic studies" in *The dairy industry in Canada* (Toronto, 1937), x-xxvi, and editor's introduction to *Labor in Canadian-American relations* (Toronto, 1937), v-xxxi. It is intended as a complement to C. W. Wright, "American nationalism: An economic interpretation" (in *Facts and factors in economic history*, Cambridge, 1932, 357-80).

²Adam Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (Modern library, New York, 1937), 538. For a reference to the continued influence of the physiocrats and the interest in land as a basis of wealth see J. Bonar, *Malthus and his work* (London, 1885), 246-7.

restrained in the English colonies than in any other" (p. 539). "The labour of the English colonists, therefore, being more employed in the improvement and cultivation of land, is likely to afford a greater and more valuable produce, than that of any of the other three nations, which, by the engrossing of land, is more or less diverted towards other employments" (p. 540). "The political institutions of the English colonies have been more favourable to the improvement and cultivation of this land, than those of any of the other three nations" (pp. 538-9) although good land was less abundant. "It has been the principal cause of the rapid progress of our American colonies towards wealth and greatness that almost their whole capitals have hitherto been employed in agriculture" (p. 347). "Agriculture is the proper business of all new colonies; a business which the cheapness of land renders more advantageous than any other" (p. 575). He knew that good land was not abundant in the English colonies and that agricultural technique was inefficient (p. 223) and yet he concluded " . . . through the greater part of Europe the commerce and manufactures of cities, instead of being the effect, have been the cause and occasion of the improvement and cultivation of the country. This order, however, being contrary to the natural course of things, is necessarily both slow and uncertain. Compare the slow progress of those European countries of which the wealth depends very much upon their commerce and manufactures, with the rapid advances of our North American colonies, of which the wealth is founded altogether in agriculture" (p. 392).

One may venture to suggest that the two causes were closely interlocked, but that expansion in the North American colonies as in Europe was the "cause and occasion of the improvement and cultivation of the country". Adam Smith in his analysis of the division of labour and the extent of the market as determined by transportation, can be quoted in support of this suggestion: "In our North American colonies the plantations have constantly followed either the sea-coast or the banks of navigable rivers, and have scarce any where extended themselves to any considerable distance from both" (p. 19). "As by means of water-carriage a more extensive market is opened to every sort of industry than what land-carriage alone can afford it, so it is upon the sea-coast, and along the banks of navigable rivers, that industry of every kind naturally begins to subdivide and improve itself, and it is frequently not till a long time after that those improvements extend themselves to the inland parts of the country" (p. 18).

The improvement of transportation facilitated the expansion of external and internal trade.

Good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expence of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of the town. They are upon that account the greatest of all improvements. They encourage the cultivation of the remote, which must always be the most extensive circle of the country. They are advantageous to the town, by breaking down the monopoly of the country in its neighbourhood. They are advantageous even to that part of the country. Though they introduce some rival commodities into the old market, they open many new markets to its produce. Monopoly, besides, is a great enemy to good management, which can never be universally established but in consequence of that free and universal competition which forces everybody to have recourse to it for the sake of self-defence [p. 147].

Cheap water transportation from Europe to North America stimulated commerce and brought "improvement and cultivation of the country". The fishing industry capitalized to the full the advantages of water transportation. The discovery of the abundance of fish in the new world was followed by the expansion of the industry from Europe to meet the demands of countries predominantly Catholic and with a limited production of meat products. France prosecuted the industry in relation to her own demands. England was attracted to the Spanish market by the specie obtained from the new world, and occupied Newfoundland, and later New England, as a base for the production of dry fish for that market. The expansion of trade from France to Spain was followed by the occupation of Nova Scotia and the gulf of St. Lawrence. As a result of contact with the hunting Indians of the interior by the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, the fur trade emerged to meet the demands of metropolitan Paris for luxuries and of the aborigines for European goods. Fur, being a commodity of small bulk and high value, supported a trade carried on over increasing distances to the interior. In the more tropical regions, Spain and Portugal were concerned with treasure, England and France with tobacco and later, in the West Indies, with sugar (pp. 156 ff.; 162 ff.).

The technique of production of these various commodities involved sharply differentiated economies. Slaves were taken by English ships from Africa to the West Indies, and supplies and provisions for the consumption of slaves and the production of sugar were carried by colonial ships from the north temperate colonies. New England became an active commercial region with its prosperity based on the fishing industry and shipping to Europe, the West Indies, and Newfoundland. France had an expanding

fur trade which handicapped the production of agricultural products on the St. Lawrence and in turn accentuated dependence of the French West Indies and the French fishing industry on the English colonies. Attempts on the part of France to check dependence on the English colonies helped to make a vicious circle in which the costs of production were increased and the necessity of overcoming restrictions enhanced. England had the advantage of a relatively co-ordinated empire, but the principle of exporting staples to the home market was violated to an increasing extent, especially as a result of the expansion of New England. The British Empire competed with the French empire on all fronts—in the West Indies, in Europe, and in North America through the Hudson's Bay Company by Hudson bay and through New York by the Hudson river. Adam Smith explained the weakness of the French empire as due to its organization rather than to the character of its trade. "Of all the expedients that can well be contrived to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, that of an exclusive company is undoubtedly the most effectual" (p. 542). "The French colony of Canada was, during the greater part of the last century [seventeenth], and some part of the present, under the government of an exclusive company. Under so unfavourable an administration its progress was necessarily very slow in comparison with that of other new colonies; but it became much more rapid when this company was dissolved after the fall of what is called the Mississippi scheme" (p. 538). Recent investigation³ has shown that government policy, supplemented by the principle of commercial monopoly, the seigniorial system, and the dominance of the Roman Catholic church, was moulded and designed to strengthen control over the fur trade and was successful in resisting encroachments of the English until the fall of New France. The prosperity of the colony noted by Adam Smith coincided with the extension of the trade from the St. Lawrence to the Saskatchewan, and its collapse with the inability to compete with the British Empire.

The resistance of the French contributed to the unity of the British Empire, and the collapse of the French empire was followed by the collapse of the British Empire in North America. The first British Empire eventually failed to co-ordinate the aggressive commercialism of the colonies, especially New England, with the demands of Great Britain that the colonies be primarily staple-

³See W. B. Munro, *The seigniorial system in Canada* (Cambridge, 1907); also A. G. Bailey, *The conflict of European and eastern Algonkian cultures* (Saint John, 1937).

producing regions. The commercial organization of New England became competitive with that of Great Britain. After the American Revolution, with the elimination of New England, the second British Empire proved more efficient than the French empire in co-ordinating the interests of staple-producing regions. The success of the second British Empire was dependent on commercial organization which increased the value of land.

The fur trade on the St. Lawrence was extended beyond the boundaries reached by the French and eventually to the Pacific, as a result of the more efficient industrial and commercial organization of Great Britain, of the migration of technique from the United States as illustrated in the effective development of navigation on the great lakes, and of the efficiency of the co-partnership of the North West Company. Increasing costs of transportation due to the extension of the fur trade over greater distances, combined with Scottish clannishness and nepotism to defeat the North West Company and to lead to its amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company and to the abandonment of the St. Lawrence in favour of the shorter route by Hudson bay.

In the fishing industry of the Maritime Provinces, as in the fur trade of the St. Lawrence, migration of technique from the United States combined with the extension of commercial organization from the Channel islands⁴ to enable Great Britain to occupy territory vacated by the French in the gulf of St. Lawrence, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia attempted to reoccupy the place vacated by New England in the trade of the first empire with the West Indies. The increasingly aggressive commercialism of Nova Scotia succeeded in excluding the United States from the British West Indies, but such exclusion compelled the United States to support expansion of trade in the South American republics. With the growth of their independence, and enunciation of the Monroe doctrine in 1822, substantial modifications in the British colonial system were demanded by Nova Scotia and secured in the trade acts of 1825.

The decline of Britain's supply of timber from the American colonies as a result of exhaustion and of the American Revolution, and from Europe as a result of the continental system, led to the adoption of substantial imperial preferences on timber from the colonies as a means of hastening the exploitation of the resources of the St. Lawrence and the rivers of New Brunswick. British

⁴See J. B. Brebner, *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia* (New York, 1937).

timber merchants from the ports on the west coast of Great Britain, such as Liverpool and Glasgow, established branch houses in British North America and purchased ships and timber to meet the demands of industrialism in the rise of urban communities and the construction of railways.

The disappearance of the fur trade on the St. Lawrence in 1821 was followed by the rise of the timber trade. The fur trade had involved concentration of a French Catholic population at Montreal at the junction with the Ottawa as the route to the north-west, and on the lower St. Lawrence. The timber trade, on the other hand, hastened the coming in empty timber ships of English-speaking immigrants who crossed the Atlantic returning to Canada. Many of them were unemployed, displaced by the effects of the industrial revolution on handicrafts and agriculture and they were compelled to settle the unoccupied regions of the upper St. Lawrence. The military and political organization which had been developed in the upper and lower St. Lawrence valley in the last decades of the eighteenth century, with the purpose, especially under the United Empire loyalists, of resisting encroachments from the south, now came into conflict with the aggressive commercialism of Montreal which emerged as a result of increasing exports of grain from the newly settled areas of the upper St. Lawrence. The demands of the new commercial class for lower costs of transportation by roads and canals for imports and exports involved a reorganization of the political structure, which followed as a result of the outbreak of revolt in 1837, Lord Durham's *Report*, and the Act of Union in 1840. The decline of the British preference on grain and timber and the increasing effectiveness of improved transportation from New York, especially by the Erie canal, necessitated the union⁵ of the governments of Lower and Upper Canada to provide a financial base for a competitive transportation route by the St. Lawrence. But in spite of the completion of the St. Lawrence canals, the chagrin at the loss of the preferences was marked by the annexationist manifesto and the burning of the parliament buildings in 1849.

In Nova Scotia the defeat of attempts to exclude the United States from the British West Indies in 1830 was followed by a policy of rigid exclusion of American trade by tariffs and of American ships from British waters by a narrow interpretation and strict enforcement of the convention of 1818. The retaliatory

⁵See D. G. Creighton, *The commercial empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, in press).

policy in Nova Scotia against American tariffs, and the effort to obtain a large share of traffic from the western states for the St. Lawrence route in Canada, led to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854⁶ which admitted Canadian fish duty free and arranged for increasing traffic on the St. Lawrence. In Canada, the competition of the St. Lawrence with New York was strengthened by the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway to provide transportation from the western states to Portland.

The demands of industrial Britain for foodstuffs and the significance of capital equipment for the transportation of grain involved a shift from commercialism to capitalism, from dependence on short-term credit to dependence on long-term credit. The commercial class, supported by the mother country in the French and British Empires and with their chief interests in the fur trade and the timber trade, tended now to be displaced by the capitalist class. The earlier appeals on the part of commercial groups for continuations of the preferences were replaced by the appeals of Hincks and Galt for capital support from the houses of Baring and others. The autonomous capitalist state replaced commercial colonialism. Adam Smith's arguments, which had contributed to the decline of the colonial system, were now used to support the claim for Canadian fiscal autonomy. In his pamphlet *Canada 1849 to 1859*,⁷ Galt wrote that in 1849 "the only hope lay in the fact that the people had at last the management of their own affairs". They had the right to impose a tariff on British goods to secure revenue to meet the demands of British capitalists for interest on loans spent on public works to reduce costs of transportation. "As the expence of carriage . . . is very much reduced by means of such public works, the goods, notwithstanding the toll, come cheaper to the consumer than they could otherwise have done; their price not being so much raised by the toll, as it is lowered by the cheapness of the carriage", wrote Adam Smith (p. 683), and "It might very easily be shown that any increase of duty which has been placed on English goods is quite indemnified by the decreased cost at which our canals, railways and steamships enable them now to be delivered throughout the province", wrote Galt.

The emergence of fiscal autonomy as a basis of support for

⁶See D. C. Masters, *The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854* (Toronto, 1937).

⁷London, 1860. The influence of Adam Smith on Canadian political thought is extensive as a sampling of newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, and the works of Howe and Mackenzie will indicate. He was quoted to suit their purposes.

large-scale improvements of transportation necessitated further readjustment in the political structure. The Grand Trunk Railway, controlled from London through British capital support, unfortunately illustrated Adam Smith's comments on joint stock companies and was hampered by government-supported competition in canals. The imposition of tariffs for revenue involved tariffs for protection and led to the abrogation of reciprocity in 1866 and in turn to demands for measures of defence against the United States. The interests of the government and private capital in increasing traffic and in reducing the burden of fixed charges demanded the extension of the Grand Trunk Railway by the Intercolonial to Nova Scotia, the extension westward to the Prairie Provinces and the Pacific coast, and the creation of a new credit structure in confederation under the British North America Act. The provinces of Quebec and Ontario were restored and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were added. Cultural areas with their special interests of language, religion, and political and economic organization were given assurance of permanence by the federation. The position of the provinces under the British North America Act is a recognition of the differences in cultural characteristics: of Nova Scotia based on the fishing industry, of New Brunswick on the timber trade, of Quebec on the fur trade and later on agriculture and the timber trade, and of Ontario on the timber trade and agriculture. On the other hand, the influence of the new capitalism, which was essential to the completion of improvements in transportation by railway and canal, left its stamp on the dominion government. This distinction is evident when we examine the creation of the new provinces in the prairie regions and on the Pacific coast.

The demands of private capitalism as represented by the Grand Trunk diverged from those of state capitalism. The Grand Trunk^a became concerned with the extension of its line to Chicago to tap the traffic of the western states. The federal government engaged itself in a programme of extension to the east, marked by the Washington Treaty which admitted Canadian fish to the United States duty free from 1871 to 1885, and by the completion of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876, and to the west by the strong support given to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway which was completed in 1885. The national policy was designed in 1878 to secure revenue to pay deficits and to increase traffic to

^aSee G. deT. Glazebrook, *A history of transportation in Canada* (Toronto, in press).

reduce deficits. Loss of population, especially from Ontario to the United States, during the long depression from the seventies to the nineties, was finally checked by continual efforts extending from the deepening of the St. Lawrence canals to 14 feet to a programme of intensive propaganda to attract immigrants from Europe and the United States. Competition from New York was eventually offset by improvements of the St. Lawrence, and by the boom which followed the turn of the century and which was hastened by the occupation of the Prairie Provinces and the development of mining in British Columbia and the Yukon and of lumbering and fishing on the Pacific coast. Two additional transcontinental lines of railway were completed by 1914 with substantial government support. With the outbreak of war, the transcontinental railways constructed after 1900 were forced into bankruptcy and acquired by the federal government.

Throughout the economic history of Canada, the dominance of water transportation in the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence has accentuated dependence on Europe for manufactured products and for markets of staple raw materials. The fur trade was followed by the timber trade and agricultural products. Concentration on staple commodities was accentuated by the migration of technique from the United States. As the export trade in staples from the United States to Great Britain declined in importance, the Canadian trade in staples was encouraged. The fur trade was strengthened by American aggressiveness and technique, the timber trade shifted from New England to New Brunswick and the St. Lawrence, the fishing industry migrated from New England to Nova Scotia, agriculture, in the production of wheat in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces and in dairying, benefited from the contributions of the United States. The dependence of Canada on Great Britain was accentuated by the United States indirectly and by British and Canadian policy directly. European markets and European capital dominated Canadian economic development through the background of water transportation.

In the post-war period and during the depression, the St. Lawrence has contracted in influence as a transcontinental factor. The Panama canal attracted wheat from territory as far east as the western boundary of Saskatchewan. The end of expansion in western Canada for the export of wheat has come in sight, and regions which contributed to rapid expansion in Canada have, by virtue of sustained drought, contributed to sharp depression. The

iron and steel and coal industries of Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence, and industrialism based on expansion in western Canada, have felt the effects of the end of a long-run secular trend. Another element in the decline of the St. Lawrence has been the growing insecurity of Canadian trade in the European markets which has made American capital and American markets increasingly important. The mining and pulp and paper industries have emerged as a result of the increasing population and the declining resources of the United States. With changed conditions, the activities and powers of the provinces have assumed a new importance. For example, as a result of the automobile and tourist trade, roads have been built on a large scale by the provinces, while the dominion government continues primarily to be concerned with railroads and transcontinental traffic.

The end of the period of expansion based on the St. Lawrence and trade with Great Britain coincided roughly with the achievement of dominion status which followed the Great War and which was marked by the Statute of Westminster. The end of the struggle for control over external policy has been followed by problems of internal policy; and the decline of the St. Lawrence as a factor contributing to the centralization of the dominion has been accompanied by the increasing importance of regionalism evident in the growth of the powers of the provinces. The cultural features in terms of language, religion, metropolitan and political organizations based on the peculiarities of staple trades from various regions of Canada to Europe, which provided the basis of the provinces in the British North America Act, have hardened and been strengthened by the decline in the influence of the St. Lawrence as a centralizing factor in the Canadian system. The expansion of provincial powers, conspicuous in New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, has been scarcely less evident in Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia. The decline in commercialism which accompanied the rise of free trade advocated by Adam Smith and his disciples, left a structure which moulded the growth of capitalism (sponsored by those who paid lip service to Adam Smith) and hastened the growth of protectionism. The extension of the American empire, the decline of its natural resources, and the emergence of metropolitan areas, supported capitalist expansion in Canada and reinforced the trend of regionalism. The pull to the north and south has tended to become stronger in contrast with the pull east and west. The British North America Act and later decisions of the privy council have strengthened the control of the provinces over natural re-

sources such as minerals, hydro-electric power, and pulpwood on crown lands, resources which have provided the basis for trade with the United States and for investment of American capital. The problem of transportation—itself made possible by dominion support to the construction of transcontinental railways—and problems of drought and depression in western Canada, have compelled the appointment of a federal royal commission, which must run the race between the Charybdis of increasing provincial powers and the Scylla of railway amalgamation masquerading as national unity. The energy and genius of Adam Smith have been replaced by a multitude of counsel and it is significant that the commission has been announced, with regional representation, to consider a revision of financial and taxing powers in a year in which the Anglo-Saxon population of Canada ceases to be a majority.

H. A. INNIS

A STUDY IN THE LAND POLICY OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE, 1763-1855

LORD DURHAM wrote of land policy as "an operation of Government which has a paramount influence over the happiness of individuals and the progress of society towards wealth and greatness".¹ It is a difficult and controversial responsibility for a colonizing power. In determining the methods of distributing the waste land of its colonies, a government must make decisions which involve choices between classes in society, between economic groups, between sections of the colony or of the empire, between conflicting objectives of apparently equal merit, and, indeed, between generations. The far-reaching importance of these decisions is clear since they are certain to exert a fundamental influence on colonial social and economic development.

In 1773 the board of trade, having concluded that the land regulations of the American colonies were "inadequate, improper and inconvenient", recommended the creation of a new and uniform system.² Accordingly in the next year the colonial office over the signature of Dartmouth issued instructions to the American governors ordering the distribution of the waste lands by sale.³ The new regulations were the result of a process by which it was gradually recognized, on both sides of the Atlantic, that land should be valued as a public asset. This change of outlook was first apparent amongst the colonists themselves where the practice, once general, of giving land to anyone who would settle upon it, gave way before the idea that land should be alienated only upon terms that would immediately benefit the colony as a whole. Thus, by 1763, five at least of the colonies had adopted a system which provided for the sale of land.⁴ So generally had this principle been accepted in America by the time of the revolution that the newly formed federal government adopted a uniform policy of sale for the waste lands of the ceded hinterland areas without serious question being raised.⁵ The

¹Sir C. P. Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's report on the affairs of British North America* (Oxford, 1912), II, 203.

²Public Record Office, C.O. 324/21: Lords of trade to the privy council, Nov. 25, 1773.

³*Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (Albany, 1856-61), VII, 409.

⁴A. C. Ford, *Colonial precedents of our national land system as it existed in 1800* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, history series, II (2), 321-478, Madison, 1910), ch. v.

⁵Thomas Donaldson, *The public domain* (Washington, 1884), 198.

revenue from this source was to be devoted to reducing the national debt.

In England, too, the importance of the waste lands of the colonies was being realized. Two considerations influenced the attitude of the imperial government in this matter: one was the new interest in continental possessions where a settled population would create a market for English manufactures;⁶ the other the desire to secure from the colonies a contribution in some form towards defraying the cost of imperial administration.

Both these interests are present in the plans which the board of trade drew up for the administration of the new territories in America after 1763. "The secure settling of the whole coast of North America . . ." was an object to be encouraged by a judicious distribution of land, and the instructions issued to Murray in 1763 contained elaborate directions for "the advantageous and effectual settlement of Quebec" and for the prevention of speculation.⁷

Considerations of revenue were having a similar result in bringing the colonial lands under the notice of the British government. Shelburne, one of the few men in England with insight in matters of imperial finance, thought that financial relief could have been secured by other and better methods than taxing the colonies. He suggested, as one alternative to the Stamp Act, that a revenue might be secured from the proper administration of American lands. To Gage, in 1767, he wrote advocating the creation of an "American fund" to be formed in part "by taking proper care of the quit rents and by turning the grants of land to real benefit".⁸ By these means, it seemed possible "to promote the good of the colonies and lighten the burden which lies upon the mother country". It was a recurrent theme with Shelburne throughout the decade in which Great Britain was trying to tax the colonies, and the board of trade appears to have concurred in his views. The recommendations of 1773 and the instructions of 1774 were the result. All the American governors who had responsibility for the administration of land, with the exception of Carleton in Quebec, were informed that they must introduce a uniform system for the sale of land. Sale by auction at a price of not less than 6*d.* an acre was the system adopted. The regulations

⁶G. L. Beer, *British colonial policy, 1764-1765* (New York, 1922), 155.

⁷A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, *Documents relating to the constitution of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa, 1918), I, 181 ff., 231.

⁸C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi valley in British politics* (Cleveland, 1917), I, 281-3.

were set forth in detail, and included an annual quit-rent of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling per acre.

The date of this reform, 1774, makes comment ironic; the plans for a new land system disappeared with the collapse of the first empire, and the disillusionment of the government officials in England is evident in the methods by which the land of the colonies was distributed in the period after 1783. The remaining colonies were thought to be of little value for settlement, and the expense of administering them was a constant source of concern. The demands for men and resources created by the outbreak of the war against revolutionary France lessened still further the government's interest in its "continental" colonies, and even the energetic Simcoe could not secure support in England for colonization projects in America. In this mood of indifference and preoccupation the imperial government after 1783 accepted its responsibility for the administration of the land of the colonies.

No policy in regard to land was ever formulated by the British government in the period between 1783 and 1825. If, however, the whole set of regulations and instructions applying to land in the various colonies is taken and considered, it is possible to discern four general objectives that were more or less consistently present. These are, first, that land should be distributed in such a manner as to encourage settlement; second, that it should be distributed in such a manner as to produce revenue; third, that it should be regarded as an asset upon which the crown could draw to subsidize special projects, to reward officials, or to pension servants; and, fourth, that land should be used to endow either the government itself, or institutions which it desired to establish. The fact that these objectives are inconsistent or mutually incompatible was no cause of concern to a government only dimly aware that it had a policy at all.

Generally speaking, it was assumed that the land should be so distributed as to make it readily available for settlement. The instructions that were issued to governors after 1783 regularly made provision for small grants to actual settlers.⁹ As a protection against the engrossing of large quantities of land, and to guarantee that the land-holder had both the ability and intention to improve his holding, elaborate lists of settlement duties were set forth in the instructions. In theory the system was one

⁹*C.O. 218/10*, Instructions to Parr, Aug. 23, 1782; *C.O. 189/1*, to Thomas Carleton, July 28, 1784.

by which the genuine colonist could obtain free of any cost other than a small annual quit-rent a grant of 100 acres plus 50 acres for each member of his family, and no one other than the genuine colonist was to receive any land at all.

In practice, however, the British government paid very little attention to the application of this system. The settlement regulations were cumbersome and unpractical, and they were included in the instructions to governors without any apparent intention that they should be enforced; in some cases, as in Upper and Lower Canada after 1791 and in New South Wales, they were omitted from later instructions.¹⁰ At the same time, land was opened to occupation in two new areas under conditions that eventually placed the actual settler at a great disadvantage. In North America the government used the waste lands of the remaining colonies as a means of solving the problem created by the loyalist exiles from the United States. In New South Wales a land system was adopted designed to provide for the emancipated convict and for the retired convict guards.¹¹

Nominally the grants given to loyalists were for the purpose of enabling them to settle on British soil, but in practice they were little else than a form of compensation. Grants could be obtained varying in extent from 100 to 1,000 acres, they were distributed in great profusion, and the obligations of settlement were either withdrawn or never enforced. Consequently, there was much speculation in loyalist holdings; in many cases settlement was delayed rather than promoted, and the area granted was greatly in excess of that warranted by actual settlement.¹² In New South Wales neither the convicts nor the retired soldiers had the necessary capital to make use of a grant, and their claims readily fell into the hands of men who held land as a speculation.

The practical result of the instructions on land granting between 1783 and 1825 was to place the land of the colony virtually at the disposal of the governor, and through him at the disposal of the administration in the colony. Though the regulations were stated in great detail, governors were given discretionary power to make extensive grants to worthy settlers, and this power was

¹⁰Shortt and Doughty, *Documents, 1791-1818* (Ottawa, 1914), 13, 33: Instructions to Dorchester, Sept. 16, 1791.

¹¹*Historical records of Australia* (Sydney, 1914-25), ser. 1, I, 9, 124: Instructions to Phillip, April 25, 1787, Aug. 20, 1789.

¹²*C.O. 43/8*, Instructions to Haldimand, July 16, 1783; *C.O. 189/1*, to Thos. Carleton, July 28, 1784; *C.O. 218/10*, to Parr, June 10, 1783; *Ontario Archives report*, 1905, pp. lxix, lxxxv.

used with great freedom. In the Canadian colonies it led to the local device of grants to township associates, and the chaos and corruption that resulted from this system are familiar themes in the official correspondence of the decade following 1795. Instructions to the governor of New South Wales gave him the right to make large grants to "any peculiarly meritorious settler or well deserving emancipated convict",¹³ with the result that by 1802 it was found that a small group of military settlers were in possession of most of the land within the limited area of the colony.¹⁴

This situation, in which practical responsibility for the administration of colonial lands devolved upon the governor and his officials in the colony, remained in existence until after 1815. Thereafter an interest in the waste lands of the colonies gradually revived in the colonial office. This change in attitude was the result of a number of circumstances. The economic distress of the post-war period, and the over-population which prevalent unemployment appeared to indicate, led to a renewed interest in colonies. It was thought that emigration would become "a safety valve" by which the unwanted poor could be let escape, and it was confidently pointed out by the parliamentary under-secretary for colonies that by this process "a pauper, for whose labour no remuneration can be afforded at home, will be transmuted . . . into an independent proprietor".¹⁵ While the government was discussing various means of assisting emigration, a great stream of voluntary emigrants had started to flow in the direction of the new world. Whether it wished to or not, the government was under the necessity of giving some attention to colonial affairs.

The second reason for a change in the land system was the prevalent dissatisfaction amongst colonial officials over the existing regulations. In every colony governors found that effective control of the land had fallen into the hands of a group of local office-holders with little inclination to let land serve the purposes of emigration, and that all efforts at reform ran foul of local vested interests. A further argument for change appeared when Bathurst in the colonial office gradually became aware of the fact that land was of value only in relation to capital. Waste lands in the hands of colonists without capital to develop them was valuable as a speculation only, and no amount of supervision could alter this

¹³*Historical records of Australia*, ser. 1, I, 520: Instructions to Hunter, June 23, 1794.

¹⁴S. H. Roberts, *History of Australian land settlement, 1788-1920* (Melbourne, 1924), 12.

¹⁵*Parliamentary papers*, 1823, VI: Report of committee on employment of the poor in Ireland, 173.

fact. Bathurst, therefore, set himself to devise a system by which land would be given only to settlers with the means to develop it.

A general policy of reform was introduced in a set of instructions sent to the governor of New South Wales in 1825.¹⁶ The alienation of land by free grant was not stopped, but the purchaser was placed in a favoured position, and every effort was made to discourage the applicant for free land. The purchaser was given first choice of land in all areas, and only after each parish had been offered for sale, and large reserves had been set apart, was the residue made available for free grants. At the same time the quit-rent on grants was altered so that it became, in effect, not a quit-rent at all, but the payment of interest on the capitalized value of the land. It was set at 5 per cent. of the evaluated price, and the recipient of the grant was given the right to commute the rent by the payment of twenty years' purchase. Thus quit-rent ceased to be a fixed permanent charge levied by the crown on all grants, and became merely another method of purchase, in which credit for an indefinite length of time was extended to the purchaser. At the same time the principle that land was to be held only by those with capital sufficient for the task of developing it was adopted.

No sooner had the new regulations been despatched to the governor of New South Wales, than the possibility was considered of inaugurating similar reforms in other colonies where large areas of land remained open to settlement. The Australian regulations were sent to the governors in British North America for their comment,¹⁷ and in 1827, after Maitland in Upper Canada had applied the new system without waiting to discuss it, uniform regulations for all the continental North American colonies were formally announced.¹⁸ The system adopted was simple and direct; it established sale as the preferred method of distributing land, and the good faith of the recipient of a free grant was guaranteed by the increased quit-rent rather than by settlement obligations. It differed from its Australian model in one important provision: land was to be sold at auction at a substantial "upset" price rather than by tender. The reforms in America as in Australia embodied the new principle that dependence was

¹⁶*C.O.* 202/14: Bathurst to Brisbane, no. 1, Jan. 1, 1825.

¹⁷*C.O.* 43/41, Bathurst to Maitland, July 30, 1825; *C.O.* 324/95, Horton to Kempt, Sept. 9, 1825; *C.O.* 324/96, Horton to Dalhousie, May 6, 1826, private.

¹⁸*C.O.* 325/36: March 1, 1827.

to be placed on the economic self-interest of the settler to ensure the proper use of the land alienated to him.

The good intentions which these reforms indicated were never satisfactorily put in practice. In the colonies the governors for the most part accepted them in principle and then pointed out the necessity for some local exception to the uniform rule. The whole question became a subject of negotiation between colonial office and colony, and in the meantime an unsatisfactory experiment was made in distributing land both by sale and free grant. Before any material progress had been made the withdrawal of the progressive elements from the Tory government interrupted the whole process of reform. Between 1829 and 1831 little was done, and Goderich, re-entering the colonial office found in 1831, despatches on land policy from the governor of New South Wales, written in 1828, still unanswered.¹⁹ Hay, the permanent under-secretary, commenting on new proposals for reform in that year, deplored the delay: "I have long thought that the land granting system needed a complete revision and it would have been undertaken had not various causes combined to defer it."²⁰ Meanwhile the disappointing result of the effort to colonize Swan river underlined the necessity for a firm hand in the revision of policy.

In a despatch to Glenelg in 1838 Durham made the following comment on the land system in Lower Canada: "It may . . . be stated as a characteristic of the system which has been pursued in the disposal of the waste lands of the Crown in this province that there was no one by whom land might not be more readily obtained than by the person who desired it for the purpose of actual settlement."²¹ This indictment is equally true of the land system of all the colonies in 1830 and it is a measure of the extent to which the government had failed in its primary objective of making land available to settlers. The system had not even the single advantage of opening some free land to emigrant settlers. The fees charged by colonial officials for surveying, locating, and patenting the grants amounted in almost all cases to a substantial price per acre, and this abuse was aggravated by the irregularity of these fees. For instance, the commissioner of crown lands in New Brunswick reported that patenting fees were arranged "on a scale so intricate that but few persons could calculate them

¹⁹C.O. 202/25: Goderich to Darling, no. 13, Jan. 9, 1831.

²⁰C.O. 324/93: Hay to Howick, Jan. 3, 1831, private.

²¹C.O. 42/284: no. 107, Oct. 30, 1838.

exactly".²² This situation was one which gave conclusive evidence of the inadequacy of the land system as an aid to settlement.

The other objectives of imperial land policy had proved equally elusive under the existing regulations. The first of these, the desire to make money out of the land of the colonies, was constantly receiving the attention of colonial secretaries, and Murray assumed it as a first principle of policy "that the [land] system shall unite the two important objects of giving facility to the increase in population and the securing of a revenue".²³ Particularly in times when the cost of colonial administration lay heavily on the home government were efforts made to create a land fund in the colonies. The Duke of Portland, taking responsibility for colonial affairs in 1794, wrote that he saw "... no good reason why the waste lands of the crown should not be given away at least without incurring a National Expense".²⁴ Consequently Prescott was sent out to Lower Canada charged with the "great objects" of creating a fund from the sale of land and securing a revenue from the church and crown reserves.²⁵ Prescott's efforts to introduce a system of sale had the sole effect of embroiling him in a bitter dispute with his council. The local officials insisted that the sale of land would result in its alienation to undesirable Americans "without creating a shred of loyalty or gratitude",²⁶ and proceeded to show their own loyalty and gratitude by blocking all efforts at reform. A scheme was elaborated for selling land at 6*d.* per acre, the greater part of the proceeds to be appropriated for "public service in the province",²⁷ but Portland finally gave up the effort and the idea of a revenue was abandoned.

A few experiments were made in attempting to make the quit-rent productive of a substantial sum. They inevitably failed, principally because of the difficulties of collection, and the whole quit-rent system was finally abandoned in the reforms of 1831. Periodic complaints issued from the colonial office about the unproductiveness of the waste lands, but the government never seems to have learned the simple lesson that it could not make money from land on the one hand and give away land on the other.

The third general use which the imperial government made of the lands of the colonies was to provide rewards for officials and

²²*C.O.* 188/37: Baillee to Hay, Dec. 30, 1828.

²³*C.O.* 323/163: Memo., G. M. to Hay, Feb., 1830.

²⁴*C.O.* 43/11: Portland to Simcoe, no. 10, Jan. 6, 1796.

²⁵*Ibid.*: Portland to Prescott, Feb. 1, 1797.

²⁶*C.O.* 42/110: Prescott to Portland, no. 81, Aug. 13, 1798.

²⁷*C.O.* 43/11: Portland to Prescott, no. 18, June 8, 1798.

pensions for servants. Except in the case of the military grants there was no stated policy in this respect. Land was a cheap and easy form of political reward, and in all the colonies large quantities of it were given away to political leaders and government servants without any account being taken of the effect of these grants on general policy. For instance, in 1801, when Portland was insisting that land should be distributed in "a provident, temperate and judicious manner", he himself approved a grant of 120,000 acres as a reward for members of the executive council in Lower Canada who had served on a committee to adjust abuses in the system of township associates.²⁸

The military grant was a more permanent factor in policy. Even before the American Revolution the system had been generally applied of recruiting and pensioning soldiers in the colonies with grants of land. This system was carried over into the nineteenth century, and set forth in elaborate regulations. Originally the policy was one designed to meet a particular emergency, such as the War of 1812, with special concessions.²⁹ In 1826, however, the colonial office issued instructions creating a regular and permanent method by which retired military and naval officers, having commuted their pensions and thereby obtained capital, could settle on generous grants of free land in the colonies.³⁰ It was thought in some circumstances that the military defences of the empire might be strengthened against attack by the planting of military colonies, particularly along exposed frontiers, and experiments of this nature were made in North America after 1783 and again in 1814.³¹ In one case, in Upper Canada, a military unit recruited for the construction of a road was subsidized with land grants which were to be cleared by the soldiers in the course of their labour.³²

The policy of establishing retired soldiers on the land was not, on the whole, a success. The government by its generosity discharged an obligation to those who had served it, but little was accomplished in the promotion of settlement. In occasional instances, as when the Glengarry "Fencibles" were placed on land in Upper Canada, a thriving community developed from the disbanding of a regiment into agricultural life, but for the most part

²⁸C.O. 43/17, Portland to Milnes, June 6, 1801; Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's report*, III, appendix B, 43.

²⁹C.O. 43/23: Bathurst to Prevost, no. 6, Aug. 10, 1812.

³⁰C.O. 325/26: General order no. 434, Horse Guards, June 8, 1826; C.O. 325/36, no. 453, Horse Guards, May 16, 1827; *ibid.*, Admiralty office, circular 19, Aug. 11, 1827.

³¹C.O. 43/23: Bathurst to Prevost, no. 58, Jan. 28, 1814; no. 72, July 12, 1814.

³²G. C. Paterson, *Land settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840* (Toronto, 1921), 50.

the soldier proved an ineffective settler. Unused to agricultural labour and inexperienced in pioneer life, he had neither the resourcefulness nor the industry to succeed on the frontier. His land readily fell into the hands of speculators, and the military grant became an additional hindrance to the genuine settler. In every colony the system of military grants became a source of complaint, and although the imperial government was never willing entirely to exclude the military settler from the right to free land, no general provisions were made after 1834.

Of more lasting importance was the policy of the imperial government in attempting to reserve land in the colonies for the endowment of social, religious, and even political institutions in the new community. In this policy there is evidence that the government was attempting to solve the difficult problem of protecting the public interest in the increase of land values in the new community. Vaguely it was felt that the immense profits to be made from land-holding in a rapidly expanding frontier community should be shared by the whole community. There were, it is true, other more immediate motives underlying this policy of reserving land. A well-endowed established church was regarded in 1790 as a necessary protection against the growth of radical ideas; and an imperial government which had been hindered in its efforts to control the original American colonies because of faulty crown revenues had obvious reasons for wishing to protect its interest in the waste lands.

The unhappy story of the crown and clergy reserves, following the Constitutional Act of 1791, calls for little comment here, although it forms an important element in Canadian political history. The imperial government, ignorant of the function of land in a pioneer community, adopted the clauses creating the clergy reserves in a form which made it virtually impossible for the experiment to succeed. The system needed clear definition and careful application. The legislation was, however, full of obscurities. It was not clear what was meant by the term "Protestant clergy", although it appears that the government meant the clergy of the established church as distinct from the Roman Catholic clergy. It was not clear how the land was to be administered nor upon what conditions it could be alienated; nor was it stated definitely where lay the right to legislate for these reserves.³³ So carelessly was the system applied that actually more land was reserved than the act provided for.

³³Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, II, 1031.

Despite optimistic prophesies and elaborate preparations, the clergy failed to derive any appreciable revenue from their estate. As settlement proceeded, the reserves became a subject of embittered controversy between religious denominations and a source of increasing discontent to settlers. Meanwhile the system had been applied in other colonies, with the same disappointing result. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 500 acres were set aside in each parish for the support of the clergy.³⁴ In New South Wales the provision of 400 acres in each parish was never put into effect, and in 1825 a new system was adopted by which one-seventh of the land in each county was vested in a church and school corporation for religious and educational purposes.³⁵

The inclusion of schools as beneficiaries of the church and school estate in New South Wales was as close as the imperial government ever came to making a general and systematic provision for educational institutions. However, the government was always willing to set aside specific areas for the endowment of schools and colleges, and a considerable amount of land was reserved in this way in the North American provinces.³⁶ For the most part, since they served immediate local interests, the school lands escaped the general unpopularity of the crown and clergy reserves, and in some cases they proved highly profitable to later generations.

Nowhere, however, was the clergy-reserve system a success, and by 1831 the imperial government was thoroughly disillusioned. "It seems indeed to be proved", wrote the colonial secretary, "by what has been experienced not only in Canada but in the Australian Colonies, that land in countries where so much remains unappropriated can only be profitably occupied by those who have the stimulus of personal and permanent interest. Hence the income derived from landed property retained in the hands of the Government for any public purpose is trifling compared to the inconvenience it occasions; the same sum raised in almost any other manner would be much less burdensome to the Colony."³⁷ In neither the colonies nor the colonial office was there any material support for maintaining the system of clergy reserves.

³⁴C.O. 189/11, Hobart to Thos. Carleton, no. 5, Sept. 4, 1802; *ibid.*, Additional instructions to Prescott, March 14, 1807.

³⁵*Historical records of Australia*, ser. 1, I, 124; C.O. 202/14, Bathurst to Brisbane, no. 1, Jan. 1, 1825; Roberts, *History of Australian land settlement*, 75.

³⁶J. G. Hodgins, *Documentary history of education in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1894), I, 11-25.

³⁷C.O. 43/43: Goderich to Colborne, no. 55, Nov. 21, 1831.

The crown reserves had proved an equally unprofitable institution. Like the clergy reserves they had been set aside virtually as speculative holdings and they were a direct effort to endow the government with a revenue that would be free from the control of colonial legislatures.

The projected system of crown reserves was fully discussed while the Constitutional Act was being prepared for North America, but it was not included in this legislation. Meanwhile the first regular system of reserves was set up in New South Wales in 1789. The governor was instructed to reserve an area for the use of the crown with each grant of 100 acres or less, but since the dimensions of this area were given as 10 acres in breadth by 30 in depth, it was evident that the plan had not been given lengthy or serious consideration. The system was made intelligible in 1794 when it was provided that between every 1,000 acres granted to settlers there should be 500 acres reserved for the crown.³⁸ In Canada a despatch from the secretary of state in 1791 provided for the withdrawal from settlement for the use of the crown of an area equal to the statutory clergy-reserve grant.³⁹

In both England and the colonies it was confidently expected that the proceeds from the crown reserves would in a very short time defray a great part of the cost of civil government. Simcoe, usually more hard-headed than his superiors, thought that no part of the institution of government in North America was more just or more likely to produce the desired results than the crown estate. Portland, eager to reduce the costs of colonial government, expected that within a short time a considerable fund would be derived from the reserves for "supporting the expences more immediately appertaining to the Executive Branch of the legislature".⁴⁰ But all these hopes were disappointed. The crown reserves were productive of nothing but discontent, and indeed the cost of protecting them was a source of expense. Opinion turned rapidly against the system after 1820. In 1825 the crown reserves in Australia were abandoned, and in the same year the reserved areas in Upper and Lower Canada were sold to land companies at low prices.⁴¹

A stronger colonial administration, capable of protecting the reserved areas and of securing their development in such a way as

³⁸*Historical records of Australia*, ser. 1, 1, 124, 520.

³⁹C.O. 43/10: Dundas to Dorchester, no. 1, Sept. 16, 1791.

⁴⁰C.O. 43/11: Portland to Simcoe, no. 7, May 20, 1795.

⁴¹*Parliamentary papers*, 1825, 1; C.O. 47/118, Memorandum on the British American Land Company.

not to impede the growth of the community, might have made the policy successful. Had it been generally understood in the colonies that the lands were being held for the public benefit and not merely for the purpose of endowing the executive government, popular opposition would perhaps have been lessened. As it was, the discredit into which the system had fallen by 1831 was sufficient to prevent any further attempt on the part of the imperial government to create reserved areas in the colonies.

The failure that had attended all four objectives of the government's land policy was perfectly clear by 1830. Commissioners sent to investigate conditions in the colonies had reported, from New South Wales in 1823 and from British North America in 1830, that the land system was in need of revision; travellers wrote that the land regulations hindered rather than aided settlement; and a committee of the house of commons on Canada in 1828 indicated the need of extensive changes in the methods of distributing land.⁴²

The British government had already decided upon reform and had taken certain preliminary decisions when the Whig ministry came into power in 1830. The colonial office passed into the hands of Lord Goderich and Howick became his parliamentary under-secretary. Immediately a decisive answer was given to the problem of colonial waste lands, and a system of general sale by auction at a uniform "upset" price was introduced and applied. This change from a policy of experiment to one of conviction was due in great part to the influence in the colonial office of the views of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. His theories, published as *A Letter from Sydney* in 1829, had been adopted by a small group actively interested in colonization, and from this group brought directly to the attention of Howick in the colonial office. A precise and definite theory, advocating methods by which an effective control of the land system could be secured with a minimum of supervision, gave the new government the confidence to proceed with its policy of reform.

Untrustworthy in action and specious in print as he at times was, Wakefield's achievement in British colonial expansion is yet a remarkable one, and two settlements can trace their origin directly to his influence. His interest in colonization began with an en-

⁴²C.O. 201/114-7, Report of Commissioner Bigge; C.O. 334/26, Report of commissioner of inquiry into . . . North American provinces, 1830; R. F. Gourlay, *General introduction to the statistical account of Upper Canada* (London, 1822); *Parliamentary papers*, 1828, VII, Report of the Canada committee.

counter in prison, where Wakefield was serving a term for the abduction of an heiress, with convicts about to be transported to Australia. From this unpromising source came the impulse which stimulated the colonial office to direct and immediate action in its efforts to reform the land system of the colonies.

The core of Wakefield's theory⁴³ is that poor conditions in the colonies result from scarcity of labour, and that scarcity of labour results from the unrestricted alienation of land. Land, therefore, should be distributed in such a way as to prevent labourers from turning into land-owners too soon, and to maintain a proper proportion between labourers and capitalists in the colony. The best method of achieving this purpose was by selling land at a "sufficient price"—that is, a price sufficient to prevent labourers from turning into land-owners before other labourers had arrived. What this sufficient price should be, Wakefield always refused to state;—it would become apparent, he thought, to the responsible officials when the decision had to be made.

The disposal of the revenue arising from the sale of land was, according to Wakefield, a matter of secondary importance. "The money arising from the sale of land", he wrote, "is a fund raised without purpose, unavoidably, incidentally, accidentally. It is a fund, therefore, without a destination . . . if the fund were thrown into the sea as it occurred there would still be no injustice and no reason against producing the fund in that way." Nevertheless he believed that the best method of using the revenue accruing from the sale of land would be for the promotion of emigration. Upon this proposition Wakefield and his followers developed a theory of emigration which led them to the belief that the use of the whole of the land revenue as an emigration fund would provide an automatic means of meeting the labour needs of the colonies and of distributing land to the equal benefit of the colony, colonist, and mother country.

Wakefield's ideas, carried to the colonial office by the members of the National Colonization Society, appear to have made an immediate impression on the new parliamentary under-secretary Howick, the son of the Whig prime minister.⁴⁴ The efforts to create a uniform imperial land system were suddenly stimulated, and the rule that land should be alienated by sale only was singled out for general application. In a series of long and detailed

⁴³E. G. Wakefield, *A letter from Sydney* (London, 1829); *A view of the art of colonization* (Oxford, 1914); *England and America* (London, 1833).

⁴⁴I. O'Connor, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (London, 1928), 86, 87.

despatches the colonial office, during 1831, communicated its decision to the various colonies.⁴⁵ The new principles of land granting were explained in terms of Wakefield's theories, though in two important details "systematic colonization" was not adopted. In place of the sufficient price, auction was adopted as the method of sale; and no attempt was made to create an emigration fund from the revenues derived from the sale of land. Wakefield regarded the omission of sufficient price as a great betrayal, and thought the generally accepted "upset" price for auction of 5s. per acre much too low. There is evidence that Howick was persuaded to leave out the provision of an emigration fund only by the insistence of the permanent officials that revenue from land was needed to meet the government's financial difficulties in the colonies.⁴⁶

The decision to adopt a general uniform system of sale was not accepted in the colonies without protests and attempts to postpone the application of the new regulations. "An opinion unfavourable to the new policy was universal amongst persons interested in the colonies", Howick said later of these changes. "The outcry was so strong that it was felt to be prudent to begin a little gently, to get the scheme into operation with a price of five shillings, and as soon as they could do it with advantage, to raise the price. . . ."⁴⁷ Instead, however, of compromising with the demands of the colonists for some modification in the new regulations, the government supported its decision with repeated vigorous statements of principle, and with spirited rebukes to governors who departed from the letter of their instructions. Remarkable alike for their detail and for the conviction and sincerity with which they presented an ideal of colonization, the despatches sent from the colonial office while Howick was parliamentary under-secretary established the principles of the new land system on a firm and fully-reasoned foundation. The views of colonization of Wakefield and the economic theories of the philosophical radicals were combined in these precepts. Sentences such as the following quotations from despatches to governors will illustrate this fusion: to Colborne in Upper Canada orders to discontinue a system of placing pauper emigrants on prepared holdings with a liberal allowance of credit were sent with the admonition that ". . . there

⁴⁵*C.O.* 202/25, Goderich to Darling, no. 13, Jan. 9, 1831; *C.O.* 325/36, Terms upon which crown lands will be disposed of . . . Jan. 20, 1831; *C.O.* 387/1, Goderich to Aylmer, circular, March 7, 1831.

⁴⁶*C.O.* 324/93: Hay to Howick, Jan. 3, 1831.

⁴⁷*Hansard*, 1843, ser. 3, LXVIII, 573.

should be in every society a class of labourers as well as a class of capitalists or landowners. The high rate of wages and the scarcity of labour is the complaint of every growing society. To force that condition artificially by tempting into the class of landowners those who would naturally remain labourers appears to me a course opposed to the clearest interest of the colony."⁴⁸ To a governor in Australia the system was recommended with the assurance that "no man will pay for land of which it is not his intention really to make use".⁴⁹

To Wakefield and his associates the reforms in land policy introduced in 1831 represented merely an instalment upon the new system of colonization they were advocating. Disappointed at the omissions in the new regulations for New South Wales they determined themselves to attempt an experiment in colonization based on their own theories. The founding of South Australia, in which the opposition of the colonial office was circumvented by securing an act of parliament, and the colonization of New Zealand, in which the first settlement was an unauthorized one, gave the colonial reformers the opportunity for a more complete application of their principles.⁵⁰ Later, when disappointments accompanied the founding of these colonies, it was possible to say that the fault lay not in the colonization system but in the fact that the system had not been fully applied.

Meanwhile the new land system was being given further evidence of general support. In 1836 a parliamentary committee on the waste lands of the colonies gave Wakefield a lengthy hearing and recommended that a system of sale should be fully applied to colonial lands and the regulations embodied in an act of the imperial parliament.⁵¹ In 1839 Durham's recommendations for responsible government in Canada provided for the reservation as an imperial responsibility of the entire administration of the public land of the colony in order that it could be included in a general scheme for colonization throughout the empire upon Wakefield's principles.⁵²

In the colonial office the decisions made in 1831 survived all

⁴⁸C.O. 43/43: Goderich to Colborne, no. 109, Jan. 1, 1833.

⁴⁹C.O. 397/2: Goderich to Stirling, no. 1, April 28, 1831.

⁵⁰A. G. Price, *The foundation and settlement of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1924); 4 and 5 Wm. IV, c. 95; K. N. Bell and W. P. Morrell, *Select documents on British colonial policy, 1830-1860* (Oxford, 1928), 205; W. P. Morrell, *British colonial policy in the age of Peel and Russell* (Oxford, 1930), 103 ff.

⁵¹*Parliamentary papers*, 1836, XI.

⁵²Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's report*, III, appendix B; for Buller's acknowledgement of Wakefield's part in the report, see *Hansard*, 1843, ser. 3, LXII.

the political changes of the decade, and the accession of Russell as colonial secretary in 1839 brought with it further reforms. The "upset" price of land in New South Wales was raised to 12s., and in some areas land was offered at 20s. per acre.⁵³ In 1840 the colonial land and emigration commission was established as a further instalment towards a unified imperial land system. The powers of this commission extended to all colonies where the crown lands remained at the disposal of the imperial government, and the commissioners were instructed to sell colonial lands where possible and apply the proceeds to the promotion of emigration.⁵⁴

The effort to create an imperial land system culminated in the Australian Land Sales Act of 1842.⁵⁵ By this legislation the ideal of a uniform system of land sales, established by act of parliament was achieved. The price of land throughout the four Australian colonies and New Zealand was fixed at £1 per acre, and auction was accepted as the mode of sale, though permission was given for the private sale of agricultural land which had already been offered at auction. In no case was credit to be extended to a purchaser for a period of more than thirty days. The proceeds from the sale of land were reserved, according to the terms of the act, for appropriation by the imperial authorities "to the public service of the . . . colonies respectively", and at least half of the land fund was to be applied to defraying the cost of emigration.

The Australian Land Sales Act was the last and most complete expression of imperial land policy after 1831. It embodied the principle of an impartial distribution of the public lands by a uniform system of sale, with the object of creating certain definite social and economic conditions in the colony, together with the principle that the revenue from land should be used for the common benefit of the colony and the mother country.

In 1774 the imperial government had produced a uniform land system for colonies over which it had virtually lost control. In so far as land was concerned, the wheel had come full circle by 1842; and the Australian Land Sales Act, if not still-born, was destined for a short life. In one part of the empire control of land had already been surrendered by the colonial office in 1842, and within a decade the imperial government was to admit that land was essentially a matter for local decision.

⁵³R. C. Mills, *The colonization of Australia, 1829-42* (London, 1915), 294.

⁵⁴*Accounts and papers, 1840, XXXIII: Instructions to Elliot, Torrens, Villiers, Jan. 14, 1840.*

⁵⁵5 and 6 Vict., c. XXXVI; Bell and Morrell, *Select documents*, 222.

The effort to produce a uniform system for the settlement of waste land in the empire in the terms of Wakefield's theory could succeed only if the colonial office or the imperial parliament retained the management of both the lands of the colonies and the revenues derived from them. But the group which on the one hand was recommending systematic colonization, on the other was advocating the concession of responsible government to the colonies. It was an anomaly in their position that the self-government which they were willing to concede to the colonists was to be qualified by a denial of the right either to dispose of the waste lands or to manage the profits obtained from them.

The position was, in the end, an untenable one. Of Durham's four reserved powers, control of the waste lands was the first to be surrendered. The colonial reformers had called attention to the fundamental importance of land policy in the life of a new community; it was this very characteristic which made it virtually impossible for the imperial government to deny to the colonists the control of their own land.

The first step in the decline of the imperial land system was the loss of control over the proceeds from land sales when the casual and territorial revenues of the crown were surrendered to the colonial legislatures. As early as 1820 the control of these revenues had become a political issue in Lower Canada, at a time when the independence of the executive officers of the crown rested on a slim margin of financial security. In the course of the prolonged political efforts that were made to arrive at some compromise with the Canadian assemblies, particularly that of Lower Canada, the government repeatedly expressed itself as willing to surrender control of the casual and territorial revenues in return for the grant of a civil list.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, in 1836, in the less radical political atmosphere of New Brunswick, an amicable agreement was reached by which this exchange was effected, and control of the casual and territorial revenues passed into the hands of the assembly.⁵⁷ A similar arrangement, though long delayed, was constantly under discussion in Nova Scotia, and in the Canadian provinces the exchange of revenues for a civil list was included in the Union Act of 1840. The effect of this reform obviously was to make any imperial system of colonization financed from the land fund a practical impossibility.

⁵⁶*C.O.* 43/30: Aberdeen to Amherst, no. 2, April 2, 1835.

⁵⁷*C.O.* 189/13, Glenelg to Campbell, no. 84, Aug. 31, 1836; *C.O.* 190/12, 8 Wm. IV, c. 1.

Despite this concession, imperial control over policy remained intact, and though the colonial office permitted colonial legislatures to enact statutes confirming its decisions about the sale of land, it was firm in insisting that no departure from the new principles would be allowed. Two further developments were necessary before the lands were finally surrendered to the colonies. The first was the realization that complete uniformity was not practicable and that exceptions from the general rule to meet special circumstances were everywhere necessary. The second was the realization that control of land policy was a responsibility that could not be kept out of the hands of the colonial legislatures.

The situation which in Canada led Sydenham to reintroduce free grants into the Canadian land system is a good example of the way in which expediency was made to dictate policy.⁵⁸ Sydenham insisted that he entirely agreed "with the general observation on the impolicy of tempting the immigrant labourer to become a landowner whilst he has no capital beyond his labour to offer". But the circumstances in Canada were unique; there was no shortage of labour and the problem was to prevent settlers from being drawn across the boundary into the United States. For this purpose he introduced legislation in the colonial assembly by which free grants of 50 acres could be made to settlers on new colonization roads. The innovation was strongly opposed in England, particularly by the land and emigration commissioners, but Sydenham's action was concurred in by his successor Bagot, and in the end the colonial secretary acquiesced.⁵⁹ Thus the first breach in the land system of 1831 had been made. Similar concessions were granted to local demands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and gradually a series of minor changes made clear the principle that effective control of the land-granting system rested with the colonial legislatures.⁶⁰ As late as 1847, it was possible for a colonial secretary to disallow the statute of an assembly which sought to reduce the price of land,⁶¹ but the concession of the wider principle of responsible government in that year confirmed the North American colonies in the full control of their land.

⁵⁸H. M. Morrison, "The principle of free grants in the Land Act of 1841" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIV (4), Dec., 1933); *C.O. 42/310*, Thomson to Russell, no. 112, May 26, 1840; *C.O. 43/35*, Russell to Thomson, separate, June 19, 1840.

⁵⁹*C.O. 42/477*, Sydenham to Russell, no. 24, Jan. 14, 1841, enclosure 3; *C.O. 42/492*, Bagot to Stanley, no. 77, April 11, 1842, enclosure 1.

⁶⁰*C.O. 189/17*, Stanley to Colebrooke, no. 206, Sept. 28, 1844; *C.O. 217/178*, Falkland to Stanley, no. 20, Dec. 21, 1841.

⁶¹*C.O. 218/34*: Grey to Harvey, no. 38, Sept. 30, 1847.

In England the American colonies had always been regarded as a poor field in which to apply the Wakefield principles, and long after the issue had been conceded in Canada the colonial reformers were stubbornly resisting all demands for concession in Australia and New Zealand. The same forces were present here that had undermined imperial control in America. The uniform system was found inapplicable in all cases, and after a short period of general prosperity had passed, the system began to press heavily on the settlers. This was particularly true in the sheep-raising areas of the Australian colonies, for the Wakefield system was designed for agricultural colonization, and the effort to apply it in pastoral lands led to great discontent.⁶² Gradually the demands of the colonists for reform became identified with a demand for local control. When the decision was finally made, in the early fifties, to grant the powers of responsible government to New Zealand and the Australian colonies, imperial control of the waste lands had become one of the major grievances for which the colonists were seeking redress.

Howick, returning to the colonial office as Lord Grey in 1846, made a vigorous and stubborn defence of the land system that he had introduced sixteen years previously. He insisted on the complete competence of parliament to manage the colonial lands, and refused to admit the existence of any precedent as a result of the concessions which had been made in North America. "The Waste Lands of the vast colonial possessions of the British Empire are held by the crown as trustee for the inhabitants of that empire at large, and not for the inhabitants of the particular provinces divided by arbitrary geographical limits in which any such waste lands happen to be situate."⁶³ But Grey was almost alone in his defence of this principle, and he faced both the hostility of the colonists and the indifference of his colleagues. Gladstone, once an advocate of systematic colonization, said in parliament regarding the Australian Land Sales Act: "The act is entirely a dead letter so far as we are concerned; but though it is a dead letter to us it is a yoke of iron to them, restraining their freedom of action in matters in which they feel deeply interested."⁶⁴

Gradually even Grey himself gave up his insistence on the principles of his land system. When he retired from office in 1852, he was on the point of conceding full control of land to New

⁶²Mills, *The colonization of Australia*, 202 ff.

⁶³Bell and Morrell, *Select documents*, 262: Grey to Fitzroy, Jan. 25, 1852.

⁶⁴*Hansard*, ser. 3, CVI, 1849, 991.

Zealand and the Australian colonies, and this concession was embodied by his successors in statutes and despatches within the next three years.⁶⁵ Thus was ended the effort to create a uniform imperial land system. In 1855 the Australian Land Sales Act was repealed, and henceforth there was no attempt, either direct or indirect to bring the land regulations of the colonies into conformity with any set of principles held by authorities outside the colony.

"In the management of the Crown Lands", wrote Bagot from Canada in 1842, "as well as in other branches of public service, it is impossible to lay down undeviating rules for the guidance of the executive."⁶⁶ Compromise upon principle to meet the needs of varying conditions in frontier communities was a necessity which the systematic colonizers refused to admit. The theories of the colonial office had, however, to be sacrificed before the demands of expediency and in the end the measure upon which the reformers were all agreed—the granting of responsible government—proved inconsistent with their plans for an imperial land system.

It was, however, a reformed and orderly system for the distribution of land that was surrendered to the responsible governments of the colonies. Twenty years of effort had purged the land-granting methods of the abuses which in an earlier period had made them a hindrance to settlement rather than a help. The principle had been firmly established that land must not be distributed as a form of official patronage, and a policy of careful management in the alienation of land amongst settlers had been introduced. Though the system of sale was not found uniformly practicable, sale was nevertheless accepted in all the colonies as the normal means by which land should be distributed, and only under exceptional circumstances was the free grant re-introduced into land regulations.

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⁶⁵Bell and Morrell, *Select documents*, 148 ff., 265 ff.; 18 and 19 Vict., c. 56.

⁶⁶C.O. 42/492: Bagot to Stanley, no. 77, April 11, 1842.

THE SECRET PASSENGER WARRANT SYSTEM OF 1872

THE steady decline of immigration into Canada during the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century, in the face of an increasing immigration into the United States, caused much concern in official and unofficial Canadian circles. In order to counteract this tendency, apparently so detrimental to Canada, the land policy of the Canadian government for more than a decade prior to 1862 was more liberal than that of the United States.¹ In addition, the Canadian government established emigration agencies in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe,² which were designed, especially the one in London under the direction of William Dixon, to advertise the advantages of settling in Canada.³ In spite of these measures the decline continued, the fundamental reason being that the province of Canada found difficulty in competing against the more advantageous geographical position and economy of its great neighbour.

With the annexation of the prairie west Canada was placed upon a more favourable competitive basis, and she lost little time in taking advantage of it. Even before the transfer of the western lands, the Ontario Free Land Homestead Law was enacted in 1868. Upon obtaining the west, the new dominion by means of orders-in-council anticipated the Free Land Homestead Law of 1872. This law, officially known as the Dominion Lands Act, was made applicable to the young province of Manitoba and to the North West Territories. Furthermore, the United States system of land survey in its entirety was adopted. Pending the completion of the Pacific railway, the government constructed the famous Dawson route north of the great lakes. The emigration agencies abroad were extended, and the overlapping of federal and provincial efforts in this direction was reduced to a minimum.

Competition, however, among the newly-settled countries for

¹Hugh M. Morrison, "The crown land policies of the Canadian government, 1838-72" (unpublished dissertation in Clark University Library). Also, "The background of the Free Land Homestead Law of 1872" (*Canadian Historical Association annual report*, 1935, 58-66).

²See Paul W. Gates, "Official encouragement to immigration by the province of Canada" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XV, March, 1934, 24-38). On the continent there were only a few agencies, mainly itinerant.

³In January, 1866, William Dixon was given a temporary appointment as emigration agent to be stationed in Liverpool. Later Dixon moved to Wolverhampton, and finally, on February 9, 1869, he arrived in London for the purpose of establishing a permanent agency in that metropolis. This, in actuality, marked the birth of Canada House. This information is taken from files referred to later in this article.

emigrants from Europe was extremely keen. Australian colonies and South American countries offered free or assisted passages to emigrants. The United States, thanks to its rapidly expanding economy, drew the lion's share of the emigration without having to resort to official encouragement. Powerful steamship lines connecting with United States ports had, for manifold reasons, magnetic effects upon British emigration agents and brokers. In order to meet this fierce competition Dr. Skelton records that "the Dominion established in 1872 a system of passenger warrants, by which approved immigrants were enabled to obtain passage at £4.15s . . . , instead of the standard six guinea rate".⁴

What exactly was this passenger warrant system? Did the Canadian government actually pursue an "assisted-passage" policy by paying to the steamship companies the difference between the lower rate and the standard rate of six guineas? Beyond what Dr. Skelton has written in the above quotation, the actual nature of the system has not hitherto been clear, since the details of the agreements with the steamship companies have been unknown. In 1933, however, documents, including several of these agreements with substantiating correspondence, were moved from the vaults of the department of agriculture in Ottawa to the Public Archives, and, as a result, some light may now be thrown upon the passenger warrant system.

While the system had not very positive results in encouraging immigration, if one may judge from the very poor statistics which are available, it is of interest as an illustration of the keen competition of the St. Lawrence and New York routes for the transportation of immigrants. It was in this competition that the Canadian government and the steamship lines plying to Canada found a common basis for their agreement.

The dominion government first considered the idea of instituting some kind of a passenger warrant system late in 1871, William Dixon, the government's emigration agent in London, being in Ottawa at the time. The intention of the government was made clear in the *Annual report* for 1871 of the minister of agriculture, J. H. Pope, which stated that the "Department proposes to establish a system under which passenger warrants will be issued for £4.5s. sterling, which will afford assistance to the amount of \$10 for each adult", and proportionate assistance for children.⁵

⁴A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty (eds.), *Canada and its provinces*, IX, 110.

⁵*Canada sessional papers*, 1872, no. 2A.

The first agreement was closed by a Canadian government agent, named Barnard, with a London steamship firm, Temperley, Carter and Darke. On February 7, 1872, Barnard cabled to the minister of agriculture the significant words, "London weekly Quebec steamers warrants four guineas secret".⁶ As a result, an order-in-council was passed on February 28 ratifying this agreement, indicating that the steamship line had agreed to take steerage passengers at a rate of four guineas, plus the capitation tax of one dollar.⁷ Because of an apparent misunderstanding, which it is impossible, due to lack of space, to explain fully here, the arrangement was never carried into effect.⁸

The first and most successful secret agreement to be put into operation was that with the Allan line. On March 11, 1872, Sir Hugh Allan left Montreal for Ottawa to begin personal conferences with the department⁹ so as to bring about an agreement, which would provide for reduced passenger rates on his company's part in return for minor concessions from the department and a pledge of secrecy.¹⁰ Complete secrecy was essential because the Allan line was a party in an agreement with other important North Atlantic steamship lines (mainly on the New York run) to keep steerage passage at a set rate of six guineas. This circle, which, of course, included the Allan line, was known as the North Atlantic Steamship Confederation. Hence, "Messrs. Allans as members of the Confederation could not permit their agents to sell tickets at a farthing under the regulation prices of the trade".¹¹ The problem, then, appears to have been one of concealing the fact that the Allan line was cutting the price. The solution was the warrant system, by which the government would issue, through their own or the company's agents, warrants to approved emigrants. The warrants were to read, and the system was to be operated, so as to give the impression that the Canadian government was paying the steamship company the margin between what the emigrant actually paid and the standard rate. In short, it was to seem as if the government were granting assisted passages. Actually, the company was granting a reduction in fares.

⁶Public Archives of Canada, *Department of agriculture documents* (hereafter cited as *A.D.*), 5416.

⁷*A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72, no. 1.

⁸See *ibid.*, nos. 5, 6, and 8.

⁹*A.D.*, 6501: Telegram, H. and A. Allan to Pope, "Sir Hugh left for Ottawa this morning".

¹⁰*A.D.*: Lowe to Bernard, March 15, 1872, "I may state to you confidently that the Minister is in negotiation with Sir Hugh Allan to obtain a reduction of fares."

¹¹*A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72, no. 23: Dixon to Lowe, July 12, 1872, confidential.

The above statements are based upon the following documentary evidence to be found in the secret files and sessional papers. In the application form for a warrant which the emigrant was required to fill out it was stated that "during the summer of 1872, the Government of Canada will *assist* [my italics] Emigrant Passengers to the extent of Ten Dollars".¹² On April 8 the company approved the proof of the warrant.¹³ Even Pope, in his *Annual report* for 1872, wrote the following words from which inference could well be taken that the government was actually providing assisted passage to approved emigrants: "The most noticeable feature in the business of the season was the introduction of the passenger warrant system, by which very material and much appreciated assistance was rendered to the immigrant by our Government."¹⁴ Again, on a confidential report of Dixon to Pope there were pencilled in the margin the following significant words: "The Warrants purport to pay \$10 of the passage money."¹⁵

The agreement was embodied in a draft of an order-in-council which was presented to the cabinet on March 22.¹⁶ It was stated in this draft that Sir Hugh Allan, on behalf of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, proposed "to exchange for orders or passenger warrants issued on the authority of the Department of Agriculture tickets for steerage passage . . . from Liverpool or Glasgow, or from both these ports, to Quebec or to any port in the Province of New Brunswick or Nova Scotia . . . to the number of ten thousand, at the price of Four pounds and five shillings each, with the usual allowances for children". Furthermore, it was stipulated "that the price at which the tickets are sold by the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company shall be kept secret". The steamship agents could be used without the necessity of paying them commission for the disposal of the warrants. No capitation tax was to be paid by the company on holders of these special tickets, and, in addition, no tax was to be paid on all other passengers carried by the company, who might settle in Canada.¹⁷

¹²*Ibid.*, no. 254.

¹³*A.D.*, 5762: H. and A. Allan to Lowe.

¹⁴*Canada sessional papers*, 1873, no. 26.

¹⁵*A.D.*, Secret series, 1872-99: Nov. 14, 1872. The prices that "approved Emigrants were required to pay were; £4:5s for those over 8 years, £2:2s:6d for those between 1 and 8 years, and 14s:2d for infants up to 1 year (*A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72, no. 10; also *Canada sessional papers*, 1873, no. 26).

¹⁶*A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72, no. 3.

¹⁷This clause in the agreement was the closest approach to assisted passage. As the capitation tax amounted to only one dollar it was negligible.

Similar warrant arrangements for emigrants from continental European ports were also proposed, with fares ranging from \$26.25 to \$35.00. On April 8, after correspondence over minor points in the agreement, the Allans signified their acceptance of it.¹⁸

Because the Allan Company was the outstanding carrier on the St. Lawrence route, any policy which would facilitate immigration into Canada was bound to be to its advantage. Canadian immigration was almost as much the interest of the Allan line as it was that of Canada. As a result, the Allan Company gave liberal aid to the struggling Canadian emigration agencies in Great Britain. During Dixon's difficult pioneering years at Liverpool and Wolverhampton, and later, in London,¹⁹ he reported that he had always found Allans ready to co-operate with him. They nearly always met his wishes; their immense quantities of publications to encourage emigration, distributed from their own offices, greatly aided the Canadian cause; they had even spent "large sums of money in the printing and publishing of pamphlets" for Dixon's use, when it had been impossible for him to obtain them elsewhere; they had recently paid sixty pounds towards the publication of a pamphlet, which Foy, a Canadian emigration agent in Ireland, had desired; and they had given publicity as to Canadian emigration offices in over four hundred newspapers in the British Isles.²⁰ Mutual interest between the Allan line and the Canadian government was undoubtedly, therefore, the chief reason for the secret reduction in fares.²¹

It was not the government's policy, however, to restrict the passenger warrant system to one company. As already stated, an agreement with the Temperley line had broken down, but by 1873 new agreements were completed not only with Temperley's, but also with another company, the Dominion line. In these agreements the government was able to exact an important new con-

¹⁸*Ibid.*, nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7.

¹⁹They were difficult years; Dixon, by doing the work of several, built up a real emigration service in the British Isles. His first office in Liverpool was to be found in a corner of the premises of a shipping broker's firm, Messrs. W. Searle and Co. In a terse sentence Dixon summed up his office equipment: "I purchased a desk, couple of chairs and a few trifling articles."

²⁰*Ibid.*, no. 23: Dixon to Lowe, July 12, 1872, confidential. For a list of British newspapers in which Allans advertised giving notice of Dixon's office, see *A.D.*, no. 5578.

²¹*A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72, no. 23: Dixon to Lowe, July 12, 1872, confidential. It might be noted that during the depression years of 1867-70, the Allan line, after obtaining the consent of the confederation for at least one shipment of seven hundred people, had carried many hundreds for charitable societies at a rate of £4 10s. Then after the confederation had been forced by private brokers to revoke this permission, Allan personally had given Dixon "hundreds and hundreds of guineas to subscribe 21 shillings a head toward the passage of deserving poor".

dition, which was that warrants could be issued providing passage for prospective agricultural labourers or female domestic servants at £1 2s. 6d.²² To make up for these low rates, the general warrant price was raised to £4 15s. Furthermore, in each ship the number of fares of these two specified classes was not required to be more than ten per cent. of all the warrant fares. In 1874 the Anchor line boats touching at Maritime Province ports were also brought into the warrant system.²³ It is again impossible due to lack of space to describe in detail how the Dominion and Temperley lines sought the privileges of the warrant system. It is clear from the documents that these lines were under the impression that the government was making up the difference to the Allan line or that the Allan line was cutting the rate.²⁴

A word is here in order on the attitude of the government to the confederation. It appears to have regarded the whole arrangement in a rather philosophical manner. The dominion, it was hoped, would benefit because passage on the St. Lawrence would be cheaper than on the New York route, while the shipping lines stood to gain a greater volume of business, which, it was hoped, would more than make up for the effects of the lower fares. Secrecy was, however, advisable since, if the real nature of the agreements should leak out, a rate war would probably ensue, and the St. Lawrence would lose the advantage gained. Dixon was fully aware of this when he wrote to Pope: "... the main object must be kept in view—if there is any disputing and the Confederation gets hold of what we are doing—all prices will be lowered and we shall lose what you have working fairly well and what promises to drive the Yankee land jobbers out of competition."²⁵ While the government did not wish to see the confederation dissolved, it would have preferred this to a suspension of the warrant system. This was made clear in a letter from Lowe to Dixon, a letter "not entered in the general correspondence Book of the Department and marked private, so as not to be liable to call by resolution of Parliament for correspondence, but in all other respects . . . official":²⁶ "the minister would view

²²*Journals of the house of commons*, 1873, appendix no. 7: Evidence of John Lowe before the standing committee on immigration and colonization.

²³*Canada sessional papers*, 1875: Report of the minister of agriculture, appendix no. 1.

²⁴See especially *A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72, nos. 14, 15, 20, 22, and 23.

²⁵*Ibid.*, no. 23: June 6, 1872.

²⁶*Ibid.*, no. 21: July 6, 1872, private.

with very great regret the breaking up of the steamship companies' confederation rates of 6:6s. so long as an important differential discrimination can be made in favour of Immigrants to Canada over those to the United States by means of a system of Passenger Warrants. But while he would regard such action with the greatest regret, he would still prefer to see it taken than to abandon a system which has been adopted, which has worked so well, and become in a measure a promise to intending immigrants." The primary concern of the government in instituting a passenger warrant system was to obtain for Canada whatever advantage was possible in the competition for immigration. If secrecy was necessary in order to maintain the arrangement, the government appears to have felt that that was not its concern.

The year 1874 witnessed the break-up of the confederation. On April 30, according to Lowe, the department of agriculture was informed by cablegram of the dissolution.²⁷ The St. Lawrence being once more on the same footing as the New York route, it appeared that the standard rates would be "whatever could be got". Before the committee on immigration and colonization Lowe expressed well the government's fears, when he was asked if the breaking-up of the confederation was not likely to promote immigration:

As regards the subject of immigration to the St. Lawrence, the answer to this question is very complex. Of course the reduction of fares has a tendency to promote immigration. . . . But the difference in price in favour of the St. Lawrence, as afforded by the passenger warrant arrangements, as compared with New York was an influence of the greatest possible value. . . . I doubt if the Steamship lines to New York will allow a difference in the emigrant fare in favour of the St. Lawrence without a severe struggle especially in view of the fact that the St. Lawrence route is the shortest and the best [to the] Western States.²⁸

In summary, one may observe that the secret passenger warrant system of 1872 resulted from the desire of the government of Canada to increase immigration to the dominion. The United States indirectly encouraged immigration by its free homestead and railroad-lands policy. Canada, being in an inferior geographical position, was forced not only to adopt a similar land policy, but to encourage immigration directly through the establishment of official agencies abroad. In addition, when these steps were discovered to be still inadequate, the Canadian government felt it

²⁷*Journals of the house of commons*, appendix no. 7: Report before the select standing committee on immigration and colonization.

²⁸*Journals of the house of commons*, 1874, May 22, 15-6.

necessary to enter into agreements with steamship lines whose interests lay primarily in the development of the St. Lawrence route.

In the passenger warrant system the government did not adopt an assisted-passage policy. The proximity of the United States forced a most careful consideration of the methods used to encourage immigration. In the years prior to confederation, when the government paid inland fares from Quebec for immigrants, it was discovered that many of these immigrants were destined for the United States.²⁹ Hence, a costly lesson had been learned: there was no guarantee that money spent to assist the immigrant was not assisting him beyond the border. Other steps had to be adopted, such as the payment of the railway fares of *bona fide* settlers, and the Ontario "six dollar bonus" system.³⁰ But the most important arrangement was the secret passenger warrant system, which shifted the financial burden to the steamship companies. It is, therefore, a small but illuminating incident in the epic struggle of Canada and the United States for the humble immigrant.

HUGH MORRISON

²⁹O. D. Skelton, in *Canada and its provinces*, IX, III. Also *A.D.*, Secret series, 1860-72: Documents scattered throughout.

³⁰See *A.D.*, 5626: Exchange of telegrams between McKellar and Pope, March 15, 1872.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE PRINTING PRESSES OF WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE, PRIOR TO 1837

THIS year being the centennial of the Rebellions of 1837 there is a revival of interest in all matters relating to Mackenzie. His prominence in the political field is apt to obscure the fact that he was one of the leading printers of his day and did much, in spite of many difficulties, to improve the technique of printing in Upper Canada. A brief account of some of the presses used by Mackenzie may not be out of place.

Mackenzie issued the first number of the *Colonial advocate* on May 18, 1824. The date line gave the place of publication as Queenston.¹ The first two numbers were small sixteen-page papers. In the first Mackenzie announced that he was printing nine hundred copies but did not tell what press he was using. The earliest information regarding this was given in the fourth number, printed on June 10, when Mackenzie wrote: "For twelve weeks from the commencement, the *Advocate* press work is executed by contract, after which, it will be printed by the proprietor in this village." The phrase "in this village" implied that the *Colonial advocate* was not then being printed in Queenston.

On July 29, 1824 (issue number 9) Mackenzie reported that an election tour and the arrangements which he had made for the transfer of the office of his paper had delayed the paper for two weeks. He stated that he anticipated only one other delay, after number ten, by which time he hoped to have assistance which would enable him to publish the paper without interruption. That the paper was quite irregularly printed at this time is shown by the note on August 5: "our readers will perceive that a part of this paper was printed a week after its date."

On August 23, Mackenzie signed an agreement with Hiram Leavenworth, who was described as a printer of Rochester, New York, although he does not appear to have had a press in Rochester but in Waterloo, New York, where he published the *Waterloo gazette*.² Leavenworth agreed to carry on a printing business in Queenston for Mackenzie, for six months, and to bring his "estab-

¹I am indebted to Mr. W. S. Wallace for permission to use the file of the *Colonial advocate* preserved in the University of Toronto Library.

²Frederick Follett *History of the press of western New York* (Rochester, 1847), 69.

lishment of Press, types, and printing materials from Rochester to Queenston". Leavenworth also agreed to provide a substitute should he be prevented by illness from continuing his work.³

This agreement was evidently carried out, for in the *Colonial advocate* of August 26 Mackenzie announced that his printing materials and press had arrived at Queenston and that in a few days he would be ready to execute orders. Leavenworth could not have returned to Rochester, or Waterloo, packed up his equipment, and returned to Queenston between August 23 and 26. But as the issue of the *Colonial advocate* dated August 26 contained news as late as the thirty-first, Leavenworth probably had ample time. Less than two years later Mackenzie stated that Leavenworth had for some time been foreman in the *Colonial advocate* office.⁴

Mackenzie did not use his new press until he printed number 15 (dated September 30 on the front page and October 7 on the inside). On the second page he wrote: "We believe this *Advocate* to be as rare a curiosity as any newspaper that ever was printed in the world. The first side was printed in the American Republick, and this in the Colonial Dominions of King George 4th. We do not know that any one newspaper other than this number, has been printed in two different countries, since the art of type-setting was first invented. Our friends may rest assured that both sides of the *Advocate* will from henceforth be printed on this side [of] the Niagara." As the outside pages of this issue were almost identical with the outside pages of all issues from number three on, it is clear that all were printed in the United States. As the first twelve numbers were printed by contract, it is probable that the first two, although of a different format, were also printed there.⁵

³Niagara Historical Society, no. 30 (Welland, 1917), 45-7.

⁴*Colonial advocate*, Feb. 16, 1826.

⁵Mr. Louis Blake Duff, of Welland, has supplied the following information with reference to the place where the *Colonial advocate* was printed, in the United States. The first newspaper in Lewiston was the *Niagara democrat*, established by Bartemus Ferguson in 1821. The year following it moved to Lockport, and the name changed to the *Lockport observatory*. The second paper at Lewiston was the *Lewiston sentinel*, founded in 1823, by James O. Daily. It, too, was moved to Lockport on being purchased by Oliver Grace. Printing began in Buffalo in 1815. It was clearly in one of these three centres that the *Colonial advocate* was produced. Mr. Duff compared the *Colonial advocate* of June 10, 1824 (vol. I, no. 4), in his possession, with the *Lewiston sentinel*, of April 18, 1823 (vol. I, no. 31), in the possession of Mr. Edward T. Williams, of Niagara Falls, New York, and found the following similarities: both heads were in the equivalent of 48 point caps, same type; the sub-head and *Journal of agriculture, etc.*, of the *Colonial advocate* and the *Sentinel* at the masthead were in 24 point old English, same type; the bodies of both were in 8 point, same type; and the page sizes were the same. As the *Colonial advocate* had no advertisements, the comparison could be pursued no further. There seems no reason to doubt that both newspapers came from the same press.

The *Colonial advocate* for October 14 (number 16) was quite different from previous issues. The outside was similar to the Canadian section of the previous number while the inside contained many of the advertisements which had previously appeared in the American issues, re-set in different type. This issue had an obviously makeshift appearance and was clearly the first printed entirely in Queenston. The following issues, from October 21, 1824, to June 16, 1825, inclusive, were printed from the same type but had a much more finished appearance. On November 18, 1824, the paper (number 20) contained the announcement that Mackenzie intended to move the office of the *Colonial advocate* from Queenston, and postmasters were instructed to forward all mail to York. This issue contained a postscript dated York, November 25. Thus Mackenzie printed four complete and two partial issues in Queenston.

The last issue of the *Colonial advocate* printed on the Leavenworth press (number 51) was dated June 16, 1825. The succeeding number did not appear until December 8, when Mackenzie announced the safe arrival of an extensive and well-chosen supply of new and beautiful type from the New York foundries and also a "Patent Printing Press, constituted on a new and much approved principle, combining elegance in design with neatness and despatch in execution". This was evidently the press which was partially destroyed in the riot of June 8, 1826. Describing this event Lindsey states: "Three pages of the paper in type on the composing stones, with a 'form' of the Journals of the House, were broken up, and the face of the letter battered. Some of the type was then thrown into the bay, to which the printing-office was contiguous; some of it was scattered on the floor of the office; more of it in the yard and in the adjacent garden of Mr. George Munro. The composing-stone was thrown on the floor. A new cast-iron patent lever-press was broken."⁶ Following the damaging of his press, Mackenzie did not bring out another number until December 7, 1826. In this number he explained that he had bought some second-hand type "on the frontier" near Queenston, but there is nothing to show whether he was using a new press or the damaged one repaired.

It is possible that the press which Mackenzie had used up to June 16, 1825, was taken by Hiram Leavenworth, who had once owned it, to St. Catharines, where he began publishing the

⁶Charles Lindsey *The life and times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1862), 1, 78.

Farmers' journal and Welland canal intelligencer on February 1, 1826. Comparison of the *Farmers' journal* of April 11, 1827, the earliest available copy, with the *Colonial advocate*, however, does not reveal any great similarity.

The *Colonial advocate* continued with little change until December, 1833, when the name was changed to the *Advocate*. On December 9, 1830, James Baxter was stated to be the printer and publisher in the place of Mackenzie who continued as proprietor. James Baxter died on March 26, 1832, and Peter Baxter took his place. Peter Baxter continued until January 11, 1834, when Mackenzie was again described as publisher. On April 10, 1834, the *Advocate* contained a notice that Mackenzie's responsibility as editor, printer, and publisher and all his political connection with the paper had ceased. The new editors, printers, and publishers were Daniel Bancroft and Peter Baxter. Mackenzie evidently continued to have an interest in the paper for it was he who signed the farewell editorial when the *Advocate* was combined with the *Canadian correspondent*, in the same year. The last number of the *Advocate* was November 4 and the first of the *Correspondent and advocate* was November 13. The proprietor of the *Correspondent* was the Rev. W. J. O'Grady and the printer, who continued as printer of the combined papers, was J. Reynolds.

During the years from 1826 to 1834 Mackenzie probably used more than one press, but changes are not indicated. The newspaper did not vary in appearance when printers and publishers were changed. Occasionally the headings were set in different and obviously new type. On June 3, 1830, Mackenzie announced the receipt of his "annual" supply of new and elegant type. It is, of course, not certain that the type was replaced annually. When he sold his paper the presses and type were not included. Advertisements show that at that time, Mackenzie possessed an iron imperial press, a second-hand ramage press, and a large and powerful standing press, as well as a small job press. This, according to Mackenzie, was an extensive establishment for Upper Canada. Altogether, with type, *etc.*, it had, he claimed, cost him £750.

The three numbers of the *Welland canal* published by Mackenzie, on December 16, 23, and 30, 1835, were printed by M. Reynolds, who had succeeded J. Reynolds as printer of the *Correspondent and advocate*.

Early in July, 1836, Mackenzie began to publish the *Constitution*. The paper was printed on a large sheet and had narrower columns

than the *Advocate*. It was attractive and was obviously printed from new type. The press probably was new also, although Mackenzie may conceivably have been using one of his old presses, if he had not sold it. Certainly in 1837 he had a new press, for on April 19 he reported that he had purchased in New York "new iron presses" of the newest construction. He later claimed that at that time he had "on Yonge Street, the finest, largest, newest printing establishment in the colonies". This establishment was broken up and, according to Mackenzie, destroyed, in 1837 after the rebellion.⁷

J. J. TALMAN

⁷ *Mackenzie's weekly message*, Dec. 25, 1852, Dec. 7, 1855.

REVIEW ARTICLE

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE ON CANADA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

IN the decade following the South African War, Canadian participation in that struggle occupied a high place in the national consciousness. Then came the absorbing effort of the Great War which almost submerged the memories of the earlier contest. The episode was, however, of sufficient importance to Canada to justify an attempt to review and revalue the literature with regard to it.¹

For the convenience of readers we may first enumerate the Canadian units which participated in the fighting in South Africa. The first was the special service battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment (R.C.R.). Raised in October, 1899, this unit shared in the overrunning of the two Boer states and in November, 1900, left South Africa for Canada by way of England. Next came two battalions of Canadian Mounted Rifles, one officered from the permanent cavalry, the other from the North West Mounted Police. By a reorganization in August, 1900, the first became the Royal Canadian Dragoons, the second retaining the title of Mounted Rifles. These two reached South Africa in February and March, 1900, took part in the general advance through the Free State and the Transvaal, and remained until the close of the year. Another regiment of C.M.R., succeeding to the title "second", left Canada in January, 1902, and saw a little service before the armistice of May; and 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th regiments arrived after the cessation of hostilities and went home with no scars to show. Lord Strathcona's Horse, whose name was a household word in Canada until 1914, went to South Africa in April, 1900, and remained until January, 1901. A contingent of over 1,100 Canadians followed these units and joined the South African Constabulary in March, 1901, doing service much the same as that of the Mounted Rifles in that year and the next. Of the artillery there were three batteries (distinguished as C, D, and E) of six guns each which reached the theatre of war with the C.M.R. One of these proceeded to Beira and assisted in the relief of Mafeking; the others took part in minor operations in various areas until the end of the year. A number of Canadians took their discharge in South Africa, joined the corps of scouts, and served as a body under two American officers, Majors A. L. Howard and C. Ross, from the close of 1900 to May, 1902. A field hospital which accompanied the 2nd C.M.R. in February, 1902, completes the list of Canadian units in the South African War.

The work of these units was, of course, reported to Ottawa; and certain of the reports and other documents were published by the department of militia and defence. A supplementary report issued in 1901 covered events of the preceding eighteen months.² It contains Lieutenant-Colonel W. D. Otter's general account of the service of the R.C.R., extracts from the diary of Lieutenant-Colonel L. Buchan of April and May, 1900, the official documents of the mobilization of the

¹This article deals with military affairs and does not touch political controversies. A forthcoming thesis for the M.A. degree at the University of Toronto, "Canada's entry into the Boer War" by Norman Penlington, contains an extensive general bibliography. The author is glad to acknowledge his debt to Messrs. R. C. Fetherstonhaugh of Montreal and E. S. Pye of Ottawa for valuable advice and assistance. He would welcome corrections or additions to the list of books.

²It was supplementary to the ordinary annual report on activities of the militia.

second contingent (C.M.R. and artillery), Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Lessard's rather sketchy account of the services of the R.C.D., Lieutenant-Colonel T. D. B. Evans's report on the C.M.R. proper, exclusive of actions, and reports by the commanders of the batteries and the Strathconas. The process of official publication was continued in the annual report of the department for 1901 which has a short section on the mobilization of the men for the South African Constabulary, the 2nd regiment C.M.R., and the 10th Canadian Field Hospital. A further supplementary report, issued in 1902, describes again the mobilization of the above three units and that of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th regiments C.M.R. It contains also a brief report by Lieutenant-Colonel Evans on the service of the 2nd C.M.R. and extracts from the staff diary of that unit, especially about the action of Brakspruit or Boschbult, March 31, 1902, where Lieutenant Bruce Carruthers and his band of twenty-one distinguished themselves by fighting until six were killed and twelve wounded. Certain other reports follow, including one by Lieutenant-Colonel A. N. Worthington on the service of the 10th Field Hospital and one by Miss Georgina Pope on that of the nursing sisters. A reprint of imperial despatches bearing upon the Canadian contingents and individual Canadians who had won recognition in various ways for their service was made by the Canadian Military Institute. This apparently concludes the official publications about Canada and the South African War.

Contemporary interest in the war led to the appearance of memoirs and general accounts in Great Britain, five of which are of some interest to Canadians. Two of the memoirs are by senior officers who on occasion had command of Canadian troops, Major-General Sir H. E. Colville and General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien. Colville assigned a chapter of his work to the story of Paardeberg from the point of view of the higher command, with brief references to the R.C.R. Smith-Dorrien devotes considerable space in his memoir to the South African War. In the advance through the Boer states in the early months of 1900 he commanded the 19th Brigade of which the R.C.R. was a unit. He has a valuable account of the charge at Paardeberg and another of an action near the Komati river on November 7, of which the chief feature was a long retirement in which the R.C.D. protected two Canadian guns. It is apparent that he thought rather well of the Canadians.

Of the general accounts three call for some notice. Sir F. Maurice's history praises the discipline of the Canadians in the charge of February 18 while criticizing the action itself as badly planned. He praises the 1st C.M.R. for their vigorous counter-attack at Witpoort, on July 16, 1900, and elaborates on the action by the Komati river and the affair of Brakspruit, both mentioned above. He has no word of criticism for the Canadians and naturally he describes their work in its proper setting of the British operations as a whole. The history of the war produced under the auspices of *The Times* mentions only briefly the part of the Canadians in principal actions; it reserves its fault-finding for the strategy of Lord Roberts. The German official account of the war, in its first phases only, composed by an observing officer, takes no notice whatever of the Canadians.³ Certainly in any general history, the Canadian units do not get or deserve much space.

One British officer, however, set himself to narrate the stories of the contingents from the colonies. Captain John Stirling of the 7th volunteer battalion, the Royal

³*The war in South Africa*. Prepared in the historical section of the great general staff, Berlin, and translated by Colonel W. H. H. Waters (London, 1904). This is the first volume, carrying the story from the outbreak of war until March, 1900. The second is *German official account of the war in South Africa, March, 1900, to September, 1900*, translated by Colonel H. du Cane (London, 1906).

Scots, allotted thirty-four pages of his volume to the Canadians. He describes the work of the R.C.R., sends them home, and turns to that of the C.M.R. and R.C.D. The experience of the two mounted regiments was full of stirring incidents to which the author does full justice. The events of 1901 and 1902, receive briefer treatment. Six pages are devoted to the Canadian scouts and their adventures, a few to the 2nd C.M.R. and the action at Brakspruit, a short section to the field artillery emphasizing the picturesque march on Mafeking, and four pages to the Strathconas. Captain Stirling's account, written in somewhat professional manner and devoid of analysis or criticism, is to this date the best account of the Canadian share in the South African War.

It was to be expected that certain Canadians would attempt descriptions of the experiences of their fellow-countrymen in South Africa. The most ambitious of these is by Mr. W. Sanford Evans. The author properly takes time to consider Canadian public opinion at various stages of the war, shows the difficulties of the government with respect to racial discord, and traces its compromises and final yielding to loyalist sentiment. In his account of operations, Mr. Evans states that the Canadians made no record marches and probably performed no feat to distinguish them in any particular respect above the others. He describes the experiences of the R.C.R. first and does not disguise the "temporary unsteadiness" in the retirement of Yster Nek, April 25, 1900, which was apparently the one weak moment of the R.C.R. Finishing with this regiment, the author turns to the C.M.R. and the Strathconas who played notable parts in many isolated actions; and to the dramatic value of these he gives adequate attention. He does not overlook the batteries or the well-known Sam Hughes who fought against red tape and Boers with equal vigour.⁴ A final chapter estimates the effect of participation in stimulating national sentiment in Canada. Were it not for the limitation to the events of 1900, this book would be the best on the Canadian share in the war. Another, by T. G. Marquis, is a compilation from the official reports and the despatches of several war correspondents, covering the overrunning of the Boer states until the capture of Pretoria. The author has collected much detail about military life in South Africa; and on operations he is short, uncritical, and not always clear. *Our boys under fire* by Miss Annie E. Mellish is an outline of the work of the R.C.R. with special reference to the volunteers from New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The authoress has a good account of the send-off and of the journey as far as Belmont; but when operations begin, she falls into natural difficulties. Thus the narrative is unreliable in detail; but a few letters from soldiers are quoted which make up for the errors to some extent. Of a similar character is *For the flag* by Mrs. E. S. Macleod, a collection of poems, despatches, incidents, and anecdotes dealing with the effort of the empire as a whole, Canada having four chapters out of ten. In a popular history of South Africa by several authors there is a chapter by John A. Cooper, managing editor of the *Canadian magazine*, on the Canadian contingents. He remarks on the spontaneous liberality of the Canadian people to the soldiers and their relatives, gives a good summary of the work of the R.C.R., the C.M.R., and the Strathconas, and concludes with nominal rolls and mentions in despatches. A slight sketch of the work of all units in 1900 appears in the *Canadian magazine*, an anonymous officer being the author; and another occurs in a book poorly named *Thrilling experiences in the war in South Africa*, which contains three chapters on the R.C.R., C.M.R., and Strath-

⁴The reference to Sir Sam's service in C. F. Winter's *Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Hughes* (Toronto, 1931), chap. i, is disappointingly brief.

conas, with a rather good set of pictures and cartoons. At the conclusion of the war, Mr. Norman Patterson made some general observations in the *Canadian magazine* on the motives and feelings of Canadians about the war and added a list of the mentions in despatches, the V.C.'s in full, the others in brief. *Ottawa's heroes* contains a diary of the war, and portraits and biographical sketches of the Ottawa men killed in action. *Canadians in khaki* has a brief account of the mobilization of the R.C.R. and of the work of the Patriotic Fund Association and of the Soldiers' Wives' League. It will be seen that, from the standpoint of history, these Canadian accounts leave much to be desired.

The histories of units, so numerous in the Canadian literature of the Great War, are in even worse case. The chief publications of this nature are two regimental histories by Mr. R. C. Fetherstonhaugh which include sections on service in South Africa. The sketch of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, for example, contains ten such pages. The author describes the formation of the C.M.R. out of the R.C.D. in Canada, and the resumption of the title by one regiment after the reorganization of August, 1900. His second regimental history is of the Royal Canadian Regiment, which appeared in 1936; and of this Mr. Fetherstonhaugh allots six chapters to the service of the special battalion in South Africa. He supplies necessary background, describing the manner of recruiting, the financial arrangements between Canada and Great Britain, the physical features of South Africa and the consequent peculiarities of warfare, and the comparative strength of British and Boer forces, although here he hardly allows enough for the superiority of the former in artillery and engineering. He gives a clear well-proportioned account of marches and actions, and of the visit to England, which is somewhat neglected in other accounts. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh has made considerable use of the criticisms of McHarg (described below) and has thus produced a balanced narrative. That he has apparently not used Hubly's memoir and certain other sources does not detract much from the value of the work. The experiences of another unit, the 10th Canadian Field Hospital, are recounted in four pages of Colonel J. G. Adami's book on the Canadian Army Medical Corps; and this summary apparently completes the tale of unit histories of the South African War.

The dearth has not been due altogether to lack of source-material. A number of able correspondents represented Canadian newspapers in South Africa, C. F. Hamilton, J. A. Ewan, S. C. Simonski, S. M. Brown, W. R. Smith, W. H. White, and R. E. Finn. Free from most of the restrictions on the correspondents of the Great War, they were able to give names, dates, and places, and thus greatly to enhance the value of their despatches as history. Strategy and tactics they troubled little about; but they sent home narratives of advances, retreats, encampments which are often fascinating and always worthwhile to the student. Naturally they took especial interest in the details of military life which had no chance to become monotonous as in France. Their work may be supplemented by some notices in the *Journal of the South African Constabulary* which seems to be the only unit journal of interest to Canadians. Mr. S. M. Brown edited some of his despatches as a book, devoting two-thirds of it to vivid gossip stories of experiences in camp at Quebec, on the *Sardinian*, at Cape Town, and in Belmont. When operations began, Mr. Brown kept close to the firing line, and was able to send out excellent accounts from the point of view of the rank and file. In fact, he was wounded at Zand river, on May 10, 1900, getting out his despatch nevertheless. The story runs thin for April and May, 1900, and practically comes to an end with the occupation of Pretoria. Throughout it is bright with the sense of adventure and well reflects the novelty of military life in South Africa.

Of private memoirs only two reach serious proportions, those by R. C. Hubly and W. H. McHarg, both of the R.C.R. Mr. Hubly, who came from Sussex, N.B., has excellent accounts of the farewells in Canada and the best stories of the voyage on the *Sardinian* and the landing at Cape Town. He describes the climate and landscape of South Africa, so strange to Canadians, and withal the good humour of the men in spite of the discomfort and hunger of the march to Paardeberg. Shortly after the battle he fell ill and was sent home. He has a few adverse comments on the N.C.O's, Otter, and the hospital, and in his narrative he reflects admirably the thoughts of the average Canadian soldier during the time with which he deals. Hubly only toyed with the role of critic; McHarg took the job in all seriousness. The errors, the faults, the lack of tact, the devotion to formalities shown by Otter and other officers appear in full detail in his story. McHarg voices well the impatience of Canadians with certain ways of the regular army which emerged again in the Great War and especially in 1918. While finding fault with administration and regulations, the author makes comments on operations which deserve close attention; and he speaks of the Australians as "a very workmanlike and self-reliant lot of men", in which judgment Canadians of the Great War will heartily concur. In spite of officers' shortcomings, McHarg was proud to have been a soldier of the queen and he thought the march past Lord Roberts in Pretoria to have been the greatest occasion of his life. His memoir is especially valuable as a corrective to impressions derived from the uncritical attitude of the war correspondents.⁴

Beside these memoirs may be put several others of a slighter nature. In a publication by T. G. Marquis on Roberts, Kitchener, and the war in general, C. F. Hamilton, the correspondent, has a chapter of reminiscences on various views of Lord Roberts and on the march to Paardeberg, of which he draws striking pictures. Brigadier-General C. F. Winter has written two articles of South African reminiscences for the *Canadian defence quarterly*, concerning a chase after De Wet in July, 1900, and a turn of garrison duty at Springs. The incidents are of much interest, especially a talk with a commandant by the non-Boer name of Reynolds who gave a fine description of *kopje* fighting from the Boer side. Mr. S. C. Simonski, the correspondent, wrote an eye-witness's account of Paardeberg for the *Canadian magazine*, describing vividly the sights and sounds of battle and remarking on the ardour of the Canadians and their satisfaction at having acquitted themselves well. Another small memoir is in the form of an address by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Buchan, successor to Otter in command of the R.C.R. He described the climate of South Africa, the encounters with its animals and birds, the early unskilfulness of the Canadians in the art of waylaying animals for private consumption, the subsequent improvement, and the feasts on *springbok* and *haartebeest*. He traversed the military events briefly until the occupation of Pretoria, closing with a series of lessons from the war. Lieutenant-Colonel G. S. Ryerson gave a lecture to the Toronto Clinical Society on his medical and surgical experiences with cases of enteric fever and with wounded, British and Boer. He defended the staffs of the hospitals as overworked, thus by implication admitting defects of organization. Lastly, a Canadian medical missionary, F. J. Livingston, brought out a pamphlet reviewing the causes of the war, describing the habits of the Boers, and narrating his capture by a *commando* and his escape. The view of the Boers at close range is especially valuable; and the booklet is written simply

⁴McHarg commanded the 7th Battalion in France and died of wounds at Second Ypres.

and vividly. Few though these memoirs are, they apparently comprise the total published by Canadians who shared in the war.

Allied to memoirs are letters; and of these we have an entire volume from Lieutenant E. W. B. Morrison of the Canadian artillery, entitled *With the guns*.⁶ He sent home accounts of unusual or amusing sights or incidents; and described the few actions of his experience, notably that by the Komati river in which he was a principal participant. He added comments on the Boers, finding the girls attractive, the people pleasant and intelligent, the men a compound of all that was unsoldierly in style with all that was soldierly in action, for instance putting up parasols to protect themselves against the sun. Morrison was ashamed of the small part played by his country in the war, her 3,500 men comparing ill with Australia's 10,000 and New Zealand's 2,000. His letters, subject to no fear of the censor, make excellent reading and good material for the historian. A much better known figure, Sir Sam Hughes, wrote letters which found their way into print without his knowledge; but as Sir Sam was not serving with a Canadian unit, these are useful for his biography rather than for Canadian military history.⁷ The little biography of John McCrae by Sir A. Macphail contains extracts from letters written in South Africa. McCrae was then an artillery officer and saw action notably at Lydenburg.

A number of letters from soldiers were printed in what might be called anthologies of the war. One such, by G. P. Labat, cites various news items about the departure of the troops, and certain official reports and correspondents' despatches of no fresh interest for our purpose; but it includes a good many letters, for instance one from E. M. Bland on the shell-fire near Lydenburg in September, 1900, one from E. Baugh on the charge of February 18, 1900, one from Angus McAuley on the experience of getting wounded, and one from W. J. Raymond on the shock of seeing casualties. The French section of the book contains letters from the well-known Roman Catholic chaplain P. M. O'Leary on Paardeberg, two from Surgeon-Major E. Fiset, one from Major J. E. Peltier, and two from Lucien Vallée, these three being of distinct value for Paardeberg, and the diary and letters of Lucien Larue who died of wounds at Wynburg. The book thus seems unique in devoting attention to the share of French Canadians in the war. Mrs. E. S. Macleod, mentioned above, included in her book two soldiers' letters on Paardeberg, one from A. C. Pearson of the Strathconas and notices of N. Dorion of Prince Edward Island and Nurse M. Affleck. Miss Mellish, also mentioned above, records a good letter about the pursuit of Cronje, one from Lorne Stewart describing the conduct of a patriotic and tipsy Englishwoman at Boksberg and a dance of the Kaffirs, Captain A. H. Macdonell's narrative of his capture by the Boers, and stories of various wounded. As is the case with Morrison's, these letters deserve careful attention from the historian because of the freedom with which they were written.

Lastly, we come to critical studies of the performances of Canadians in the war. The only work at all of this nature appears to be an article by C. F. Hamilton in the *Canadian defence quarterly* on the relation of the militia to the war. The author gives statistics of the forces sent, the cost to Canada, the pay of the troops, the share of the British government in expenses, and shows the uneasiness of certain Cana-

⁶Morrison served in the Great War and eventually became G.O.C. Canadian Corps artillery.

⁷These letters earned some ridicule for Sir Sam because of the egotistic tone. They are found in the *Toronto Telegram*, Feb. 19, April 2 and 19, 1900. I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Staples, of the *Telegram*, for this information.

dians at the reluctance of their own authorities to assume a greater part of the financial burden. He points out two weaknesses in organization: the short terms of the enlistments and the lack of system in the replacement of wastage in the ranks. Finally, he proves Morrison's statement that Australia and New Zealand had much larger forces in the field proportionately than Canada. No other study of organization or operations is known to the reviewer.

From this summary the defects of Canadian historical literature about the South African War are apparent. The publication of memoirs and letters was sadly inadequate in view of the fair education of most of the Canadian soldiers. There have been much too few critical studies: there is no official history and no satisfactory general account for the public.

W. B. KERR

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

- Population Movements.* By ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. [iv], 121. (5s.)
- World Population: Past Growth and Present Trends.* By A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. xvi, 336. (\$3.75)
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- Human Migration: A Study of International Movements.* By DONALD R. TAFT. (Sociology Series, ed. by R. D. MCKENZIE.) New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1936. Pp. xxvi, 590. (\$4.00)

THAT the population of the western world is no longer reproducing itself and must sooner or later begin to decline is made abundantly clear by modern studies of population trends such as the first three books listed above. So obvious is the fact that it is resulting in a marked change of emphasis on the part of writers on the subject. Up to the present, the economy of the white peoples has been predicated upon the basis of a constant increase in numbers, but the problem of the future will be to fit our economic and social institutions to a shrinkage in humanity. Such questions as birth-control, the small family, and immigration may in consequence be expected to be, in the future, subjects which demand a different kind of attention from that which they currently receive.

Of the books here listed, only Mr. MacLean's study bears directly on Canada, but in all of them some mention of Canada is made. The references, however, are, with the exception of Mr. Kuczynski's, either perfunctory or inadequate, and display no first-hand knowledge of Canadian problems.

Mr. Kuczynski's little work is a model of compression and lucidity. He comes to the conclusion that mortality cannot be much further reduced and that if a declining population is to be avoided the birth-rate must be increased. He believes that its steady decline is caused almost entirely by birth-control, which in turn rests upon a public opinion which has decided that many children are not a blessing, that many countries are overpopulated, and that as a result there is unemployment. He has no difficulty in showing that there is little relation between the size of a population and prosperity, that, in fact, a declining population will cause more unemployment than it relieves.

Mr. MacLean's study displays the usual competence of its author. It is severely objective and most guarded in its conclusions, but it tends to show that in Canada at least, people move quickly from localities in which opportunities are few to those in which they are more numerous and that growth in population has occurred mainly as a result of this. Districts are settled, "fill up", and then the population either remains stationary or, if too many have come in for the prevailing standards to be maintained, it declines. The idea in all the other books that Canada is naturally one of the countries suitable for immigration is hardly borne out by the conclusion that for years past the net emigration of Canadians has been equal to the net immigration of other peoples. Canada, in fact, is the only nation in the world which is at once a leading country of immigration and of emigration. This is another way of saying that the population is probably the most nomadic

in the world. This study should be read with those of its author and Professor Hurd in the *Canadian papers* prepared for the Yosemite Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1936, and also with the paper by Mr. MacLean and Dr. A. W. Turner in the *Canadian journal of economics and political science* of May, 1937.

Mr. Carr-Saunders's book is a general survey of population trends the world over, and is not a piece of original research. Its approach is almost purely statistical and logical, and its lack of knowledge of the "new countries", with its consequent neglect of geographical factors such as available land, climate, etc., appears patent. For example, apart from the statistical tables used, there is hardly a statement in it about Canada which would appeal to local knowledge as being valid. He says definitely that economic opportunity has little effect on the growth of population and seems to be under the impression that there is in Canada a vast amount of land waiting for the settler. Experience in all the new countries would tend to prove that where there are opportunities for life, they are quickly taken advantage of, and that there is no need to worry about a declining population if there is land available which is suitable for settlement. It is ignorance of the true situation in Canada with respect to available land that leads people to make the assertion that Canada is a sparsely populated country. If in making calculations of the number of people per square mile, only the habitable areas of Canada were to be taken, the population, while not dense, would be very much above the two or three per square mile usually given in the tables. So with the United States: its effective area is much less than its total area. Hence Mr. Carr-Saunders's assertion that the United States and the dominions ought to consent to receive European immigrants on something like the old scale, until they are "adequately" populated, is not very tenable. Nowhere does he define the word "adequate". It is doubtful if it can be defined. Most Canadians would like to see more people in the country, but few would wish to have its habitable regions as crowded as are those of England, Belgium, or even Germany.

The other two books attempt to cover the whole subject of immigration, chiefly with reference to the United States. They have many useful facts, figures, and tables and are apparently intended as sociological text-books. One of them is written in the distasteful flatulent English peculiar to much American writing on sociology—the verb "to contact" makes its shameless appearance on more than one page—and both of them make those confident generalizations from history that seem to come readily to sociologists untrammelled by an inconvenient amount of knowledge of that subject. Neither one has much significance for the Canadian student.

A. R. M. LOWER

Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 1. Montréal: Imprimerie Le Rayon. 1936. Pp. 275. "LES DIX" are a group of ten French-Canadian men of culture who have banded themselves together in an "eclectic society" for the purpose of studying literature, art, and science, but particularly to aid each other in historical research and writing.¹ They plan to collect materials for the use of future students of Canadian history. Each year they will issue a volume of papers written by members of the group. This volume is the first of that series.

The original idea for the formation of "Les Dix" is credited to M. Gérard

¹See note in CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI, Sept., 1935, 342-3.

Malchelosse, secretary of the Société Historique de Montréal. He was inspired by the examples of the once-noted "Club des Dix" of Ottawa of which Benjamin Sulte was the moving spirit, and the "Cercle des Dix" at Quebec which flourished under the benevolent patronage of Sir Adolphe Chapleau. Unlike these predecessors this group, having its headquarters in Montreal, includes members from Ottawa, Three Rivers, and Quebec. This may be a tribute to the facilities of modern communication, or it may evince a cherished hope that this group may some day develop into an Académie de Québec, for M. Morin, who has contributed an essay on "Les Dix" to this volume, finds their aims akin to those of the illustrious Académie Goncourt and the august Académie Française. This would be a glorious future to look forward to, and we may well wish that such may be the issue of time, but in so doing may we also be permitted to trust that such a *dénouement* shall never require a Canadian Richelieu?

The articles in this first volume are devoted to subjects which are primarily of local interest. To the general historian the article by M. Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, "Les anciens Iroquois du Québec", is perhaps of most interest. His attempt to establish a chronology of Iroquois occupation of the St. Lawrence valley is provocative and challenging. M. Ægidius Fauteux's study, "La carrière pré-canadienne de M. de Tracy", introduces us to little-known events in the European career of one of the most influential figures of old Quebec. "Les traîtres de 1759", by M. Pierre-Georges Roy, will, I believe, prove enlightening to English-speaking Canadians. M. E.-Z. Massicotte's "Quelques rues et faubourgs du vieux Montréal" is practically a guide-book for those who desire to delve into the archaeology of Montreal. L'abbé Maurault traces the work of the Sulpicians in the establishment of secondary education in Montreal in his "Les origines de l'enseignement secondaire à Montréal". A useful picture of one of the less known Jesuit missionaries is presented by l'abbé Albert Tessier in "Le Père Jacques Buteux". M. F. J. Audet's study of "Vallières de Saint-Réal" gives an interesting sidelight on the career of Papineau's rival. The last two papers, "Les Blackstone", by M. Gérard Malchelosse, and "Les Boucherville à l'étranger", by M. Montarville Boucher de la Bruère are genealogical studies of the sort we have come to know so well in Quebec scholarship.

There is but little to criticize in this sumptuous volume. It would be more satisfactory for other historical students if all the articles were as well documented as those by Messrs. Fauteux, Massicotte, Malchelosse, and the Abbé Maurault. We anticipate with interest the appearance of the second annual volume of "Les Dix".

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI. Por ARMANDO CORTESAO. (Contribuição para um estudo completo.) Vols. I and II.

Lisboa: Edição da "Seara Nova". 1935. Pp. xliv, 389; 453 and maps.

THIS outstanding work has already been mentioned in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (1935, sect. ii, 101), and full descriptive and technical reviews have appeared in the *Times literary supplement* (March 14, 1936), and in the *Geographical journal* (lxxxvii, 1936, 150-3); but its connection with the cartography of Canada is such as to merit further notice here.

The field of the two handsome quarto volumes, with their many cuts and fifty large photo-plates, is, of course, the world of early Portuguese exploration, in which Canada finds an important place through the fundamental discoveries of the

Cortereals and Fagundes, as laid down on the Cantino, Reinel, Homem, and other maps. It is true the work has no startling or revolutionary results to present, the known maps having been rather fully analysed and reproduced by Kunstmann, Kohl, HARRISSE, Dawson, Stevenson, Biggar, Prowse, the present writer, and others; but Cortesao throws a flood of new light upon details of the identities, lives, and works of the aforementioned Portuguese cartographers, with many rectifications of authorship, dates, and other details of their maps, all helping to a better understanding of obscure geographical features. Thus, for example, he gives good reason for ascribing the anonymous "Kunstmann IV", as also an important *portolano* of the time, to Reinel; and he brings new evidence in support of the genuineness of the Lopo Homem map of 1519, considered by Caraci to be a forgery. Nor is the work limited strictly by its title, for cartographers of other nations are included on occasion, with illuminating results. The completeness of the work is shown by its inclusion of references to the studies of present Canadian scholars.

A valuable feature of the large photo-plates rests in the fact that, in most cases, the entire map is presented instead of the selected portions of most accessible reproductions. The method has the defect that the entailed great reduction in scale often renders the details of nomenclature illegible, but has the merit, crucial in some cases, of permitting one's own region to be studied in its world setting, and in better light of the technique of the map-maker.

This fine work, a part henceforth of the indispensable literature of its subject, is good evidence that the study of ancient cartography is not a formalized and finished discipline as often presumed, but is still a living subject.

W. F. GANONG

The Works of Samuel de Champlain in six volumes reprinted, translated, and annotated by six Canadian scholars under the general editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Vol. VI: 1629-1632. Translated by the late W. D. LESUEUR and H. H. LANGTON, the French texts collated by J. HOME CAMERON, with a portfolio of plates and maps and an index to the six volumes. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1936. Pp. xvi, 430, xii.

WITH this volume the Champlain Society has completed the ambitious project of publishing a definitive edition of Champlain's works. These six volumes are more evenly and logically arranged than were those of the Abbé Laverdière. Laverdière's scientific piety in the early days of Canadian historical scholarship has, however, been used here; but the twentieth-century editors have not felt, as their predecessor did, that they had to defend Quebec and its founder against that most militant Montrealer, the Abbé Faillon. This series is objective, literary, and scientific. Champlain now speaks clearly for himself. His voice, thanks to the translators, is heard in fluent and succinct English as well as in the generally lucid French original, to which one Canadian scholar used to turn in relief from modern Parisian modes of writing.

Even the *Treatise on navigation*, mysterious and obscure to a layman, takes on intelligibility from Mr. Langton's clarity, assisted by the special knowledge and corrections of Professor Cameron and Mr. A. Thompson of the Dominion Observatory. The main text has also benefited from Mr. Cameron's special knowledge of seventeenth-century and technical vocabulary. References to seventeenth-century dictionaries confirm our faith in the scholarship of the editors, whose choice of English terms, especially nautical terms, would otherwise be mysterious. The authority of the translators enables the English reader to read without frequent

reference to the French text: this marks the highest achievement for editors of a book in two languages.

Dr. Biggar has supervised the editing of all volumes; Mr. Cameron has collated the French texts in all. Volume I was published in 1922 and was translated by Mr. Langton. It includes the *Brief discours* of the West Indies voyage of which two copies have since been discovered in Bologna and Turin. This volume also includes the 1603 volume on *Savages* and the first part of the 1613 volume of *Voyages*, with most of the appropriate maps. Volume II was published in 1925 and completes the *Voyages* of 1613 and the *Fourth voyage* of 1613; it is, therefore, of the highest interest. It contains six documents concerning Champlain personally, correcting and supplementing earlier editions. The translations were done by and under the supervision of the late Professor Squair. Volume III, published in 1929, makes accessible the rare work of 1619 and the map of 1632. Here also is a pleasing feature which is continued: the correction of notes or opinions made in earlier volumes. The *Portfolio of plates and maps*, published at this time, includes Champlain's own work and also a modern map by Professor W. F. Ganong, who is the geographical specialist for the series. Here perhaps more than anywhere else has there been notable progress beyond Laverdière, whose woodcuts were inaccurate. Volume IV, published in 1932, includes books III and IV of the *Voyages* of 1632, which are completed in the two concluding volumes. Henceforth there was assistance from a larger group of scholars, including Dr. Biggar's Paris colleagues, MM. de Roquebrune and de Cathelineau. In this volume is an interesting addition to Champlain's marriage contract discovered by M. de Cathelineau. Volume V was published in 1933 and translated by the late Mr. W. D. LeSueur. It includes the hitherto untranslated narrative of 1620 to 1629.

Volume VI completes the *Voyages* of 1632 and Mr. LeSueur's translation has benefited from Professor Cameron's specialized knowledge. The material includes the interesting story of the surrender of 1629. Also in this new volume is the *Summary of the discoveries made in New France* which is a comparison of French and English claims to the east coast of America as they appeared during the negotiations at Breda. The *Account of what took place in 1631* places us close to the desperate efforts of the French to hold Acadia in these doubtful years. Professor Ganong's translation of the *Identification tables to Champlain's maps* is based on survey and detailed cartographical knowledge which makes the reading of the maps simple. Miss Jarvis's index is one of the most accurate and useful recently published.

The appendices in this volume include supplementary identification tables for the maps of 1612 and 1613; two letters of Champlain to Richelieu, one of them published by Laverdière and the other published for the first time; the articles demanded by Champlain and Dupont from David Kirke at Quebec (Dupont signs himself "Le pont" and his name has escaped the index); Champlain's list of property handed over to David Kirke (his receipt had to be given back to Louis Kirke at Tadoussac); the instructions of the voyage of 1630; and, most valuable of all, Champlain's *Appeal to the king*, which summarizes his observations and hopes for the colony.

Algonkin is spelt in both fashions; Indian names are usually transferred unchanged to the English translation but there are exceptions; once or twice type has broken or fallen out: a carping proof-reader could find no more serious criticisms than these. The format and type are of the society's normal high standard.

Other possible publications of Champlain material can hardly add to our knowledge of the character, work, and charm of the father of New France. Thirty years ago, apropos Laverdière's work, Mgr Gosselin named Champlain's *Works* as his greatest monument. This series is a worthy commentary on that judgment.

H. M. THOMAS

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, preserved in the Public Record Office, 1722-1723, 1724-1725, 1726-1727. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, issued by the authority of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury under the direction of the master of the rolls. 1934; 1936; 1936. Pp. lxii, 496; l, 570; xl, 507. (£1 10s.; £1 15s.; £1 10s.)

Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January 1764 to December 1767. Preserved in the Public Record Office. London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1936. Pp. viii, 484. (£1 12s.)

War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763. By RICHARD PARES. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 631. (25s.)

It is now seventy-seven years since the first *Calendar* appeared and thirty-two since the late Cecil Headlam assumed editorship of the series. When he began his work the records had been calendared and published in twelve volumes down to 1698. Between 1908 and 1934 he published seventeen volumes of which the first listed above was the seventeenth. He had also calendared the material for the other two when he died and Professor A. P. Newton completed his work. These three calendars, therefore, are part of a far-reaching plan to publish summaries and extracts of all the colonial records in the Public Record Office dealing with America and the West Indies, and as such they are invaluable to the student of both the empire as a whole and its component parts. In the years covered by these three volumes no revolutionary changes were made in colonial policy, but the calendars are a mine of information on the day-by-day problems of all the colonies concerned. As Canada was then in the hands of the French, these records deal only indirectly with its history through the relations of New York and New England with it; but they contain many letters and descriptions of Nova Scotia and its problems which throw much light upon the Acadian problem, the Canso fisheries, the Indian wars, and the relations of Nova Scotia with New England and of both with Louisbourg. In their introductions the editors have reviewed the outstanding events in each period and called attention specifically to illustrative documents in the text. These introductions, together with the elaborate indices, make the path of the student comparatively easy.

The *Journal* listed above, covering the four years 1764-7 inclusive, is a continuation of the plan to publish separately the proceedings of the commissioners for trade and plantations from 1704 onwards. They are published verbatim and thus enable the student who reads the various despatches that travelled to and from Whitehall to see what action was taken on the reports and petitions of the various officials of the colonies at the time. This particular *Journal* covers an active period in the history of both Canada and Nova Scotia and is therefore interesting to all Canadians as well as to the general historian of the empire. This *Journal* also is well edited, has a useful introduction and an excellent index.

War and trade in the West Indies has been listed with these calendars for the obvious reason that it deals with part of the same period and is a useful commentary upon the policies that were being slowly evolved by the colonial and

imperial officials in that part of the empire which was of greatest interest to Great Britain before the Seven Years' War. The British continental colonies of Great Britain came into conflict with Spain on the south and with France on the north, but in the West Indies British merchants and officials clashed heatedly with both.

Mr. Pares has examined British and French records foreign and colonial, records of vice-admiralty, and numerous secondary sources, but he has not had access to Spanish archives, and he has not attempted to give either a comprehensive or a chronological narrative; nor has he endeavoured to discuss in detail military or naval tactics. On the other hand, he has "tried to explain what the colonists expected from those wars, what part they took in fighting them, what demands they made upon the armed forces and diplomacy of their mother countries", and he has discussed in some detail the underlying principles of Spanish, French, and British economic policy in the West Indies and French and British naval strategy. Mr. Pares takes great pains also to show the relationship between party politics and conflicting interests of traders and trading companies upon British policy in the West Indies and leaves the impression that with the exception of Pitt none of the statesmen of the period had enlarged or definite views as to the end or importance of colonial expansion.

D. C. HARVEY

Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1935-1936. Par P.-G. ROY. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1936. Pp. viii, 455.

Inventaire des insinuations de la prévôté de Québec. Par P.-G. ROY. (Archives de la Province de Québec.) 2 vols. Beauceville: L' "Eclaireur". 1936. Pp. 298; 308.

In the present Archives report M. Roy presents the public with a complete and carefully edited copy of one of the most important documents of the French régime in Canada, i.e., Talon's "Census of 1666", the first official census in New France. This is the first complete and reliable publication of this document, and, although its genealogical significance is given as the reason for its inclusion in the report, all those concerned with the social history of early Canada will be grateful to M. Roy for this contribution to their material.

The calendar of the correspondence of Mgr Panet, archbishop of Quebec, of great value for the study of the religious development of the province, is here brought to a close with the calendar of the years 1831-3, the last year being that of the archbishop's death.

In many ways far more significant than the two other sections of this report is the third section in which M. Roy begins the publication of the letters of the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu. The abbé was grand-vicar of the bishop of Quebec in Paris during the long and difficult period from 1734 to 1777. In this troublesome time of the collapse of New France, and of transition to British rule, the question of the position of the church was perhaps the issue of gravest consequence to French Canada. Consequently, the publication of the ample correspondence of one of the leading figures in the solution of that problem, giving information hitherto unknown to the historical public, is a matter of paramount historical importance. The present allotment includes the letters from May 1, 1742, to June 1, 1753. The report is published in its usual excellent format.

The calendar of the registers of the *prévôté* court of Québec, published separately by the Quebec Archives, will be of particular interest to genealogists, being largely a record of marriages, deeds, official commissions, etc. The material is arranged alphabetically by names, and the present two volumes include the names from

"Abé" to "Quirion". The *prévôté* court was founded in May, 1666, abolished in December, 1674, and re-established in May, 1677, existing from then until the conquest. The registers here calendared are preserved at the *Palais de Justice* in Quebec in the *Archives judiciaires*.

R. M. SAUNDERS

Northwest Passage. By KENNETH ROBERTS. Toronto: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1937. Pp. [vi], 709. (\$2.75)

Northwest Passage: Appendix. *Containing the Courtmartial of Major Robert Rogers, the Courtmartial of Lt. Samuel Stephens and Other New Material.* With notes by KENNETH ROBERTS. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1937. Pp. [vi], 199.

THIS vivid historical novel by a writer whose popularity as a portrayer of the American past has been steadily increasing in recent years is built around the rugged figure of Robert Rogers, the commander of Rogers' Rangers, the famous colonial corps whose exploits in the Seven Years' War are still freshly remembered in the country about Lake George and Lake Champlain. The first half tells the story of that epic of frontier heroism and barbarism, Rogers's expedition against the St. Francis Indians in the autumn of 1759; the second half deals with Rogers's dream of exploration and expansion to the westward, and its frustration. The narrator is a young colonial painter whose ambition is to depict the Indians of his native country; and many of the scenes are laid in London, whither Rogers went to seek support for his great schemes.

Mr. Roberts is an investigator as well as a novelist; his narrative is evidence of this, without the imposing list of acknowledgements with which the book is prefaced, and it is this in part, doubtless, that makes the story so brightly alive. This is not to say, however, that he is above taking liberties with history. Just how far the writer of historical fiction is justified in going in this direction is a question which the present reviewer has no intention of trying to answer here; but it may be pertinent to point out that the section of this book which is the best history is also the best literature. In his account of the St. Francis expedition Mr. Roberts has stuck pretty closely to his documents; yet this part of the book has a unity and drive which are lacking in the second half. In these later sections some scholarly readers will certainly be disturbed at times by the feeling that history has fallen behind. In particular, they may feel that rather too harsh measure has been meted out to Sir William Johnson. Sir William appears in person only once, but he is indubitably the villain of the piece, and all who are associated with him are tarred with the same brush; his white officers are cunning and crooked; even his Mohawk Indians are the lowest of their race. Some British readers, moreover, may occasionally complain that the author regards men in red coats with too uniformly jaundiced an eye. But there are limits to criticism of this sort; the first necessity in any novel, historical or otherwise, is that it should be a good story; and this Mr. Roberts has given us beyond all doubt. The book has been very successful, and the success has been well deserved.

A special edition has been published with a second volume entitled *Northwest passage, appendix*. The most important document included is the record (apparently from the Public Record Office in London) of the courtmartial at Montreal in 1768 which acquitted Rogers of charges of treasonable relations with the French and of disobedience of orders, arising out of his period of command at Mackinac. It will be very useful to future students of Rogers's curious career. Mr. Roberts's notes are frequently in the nature of special pleading.

C. P. STACEY

Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763. Edited with introduction and notes by THEODORE CALVIN PEASE. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, XXVII, French series, II.) Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library. 1936. Pp. clxxii, 607.

As a collection of documents illustrative of the various attempts of England and France to arrive at a boundary in the Mississippi valley, this book is extremely valuable. The Mississippi valley, however, was only one small segment of a conflict of colonial titans that was world-wide, and the most severe criticism that can be made of Mr. Pease's book is that the selection from any given document of a paragraph or two bearing upon the Mississippi valley results in a distortion of perspective. The student reading through this volume would find little to indicate to him that there was anything involved in the struggle except the Mississippi valley. The historian of the Canadian boundary, for example, seeks in vain for the materials in these documents bearing upon the boundary of Nova Scotia, or of the regions south of the St. Lawrence. One is left largely in the dark on such important considerations as the proposed "swap" of Nova Scotia for St. Lucia, although more is given, naturally, that bears upon the "swap" of eastern Louisiana for that same island. One fails, here, to see that the Mississippi valley was a small, relatively unimportant aspect of a contest that juggled the Mississippi valley against Acadia or St. Lucia, North America against the West Indies, Cape Breton against Gorée, the colonies against European considerations. And yet the history of these facts is in the unpublished parts of the very documents Mr. Pease has printed. This, of course, is not to blame Mr. Pease. He is interested in the Mississippi valley, and he is prevented, by the limitations of space alone, from presenting more than he has done.

Mr. Pease's long introduction (171 pp.) is a valuable and accurate, if somewhat pedestrian, survey of the diplomatic history of the Mississippi valley from 1749 to 1763, giving the connected story of the diplomatic events that produced the documents. In general, it presents four major diplomatic attempts to settle the question of where the Anglo-French boundary should be. In 1749, the most acute boundary question was raised in Acadia, and this question was placed in the hands of the joint commission that met in Paris in 1750. This commission never discussed the boundary of the Mississippi valley. Shortly thereafter, the Lake George and Lake Champlain boundary re-appeared in diplomacy, and to this was quickly added diplomatic exchanges over the boundary south of Lake Ontario. The battle of Fort Necessity underlined the Ohio valley as another region for boundary settlement. But by this time (1754) the joint commission had been practically abandoned, and the great boundary question was taken out of its hands and negotiated directly through the regular diplomatic channels. This direct negotiation was the second effort at a peaceful settlement of the North American boundary question; and, while recognizing the cynical unwillingness of both sides to compromise, the historian cannot escape the impression of genuine desire in the diplomats, individually, to avoid war. Both sides were at this time willing to accept a line which, roughly, would have made the Allegheny mountains the boundary of English penetration; the negotiation failed over the various questions relative to what should be done with the lands between the mountains and the Wabash, including the Ohio river. These first two efforts to settle the boundary by peaceful means having failed, the great contention was submitted to trial by war.

The third major exchange of ideas as to the boundary was made, in

Mr. Pitt's hectic negotiation of 1761, in the course of which the boundary of "Canada", now English, was pushed to the Wabash river and the height of land between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi as drawn on the so-called "Vaudreuil map", and a never-defined line south of the Ohio. Pitt's effort having failed, and Spain having come to the aid of France, the fourth and final diplomatic exchange over the Mississippi boundary became, in 1762, a three-cornered negotiation between England, France, and Spain which finally carried "Canada" to the Mississippi and left Spain in possession of Louisiana beyond.

The contrast between the French position in 1749 and that in 1762 is a notable one. For, in the former case, the moving spirit in French colonial diplomacy was the Marquis de la Galissonnière, who, while recognizing that France's North American colonies had always been a dead loss, was inflexibly convinced that they must never fall to England to increase that nation's already too great mercantile and maritime power. If English ambitions were to be confined, the only suitable American boundary was the Allegheny watershed, from the gulf of St. Lawrence to the gulf of Mexico. The Seven Years' War was fought to maintain this principle. The year 1762, however, found at the helm of French affairs the Duc de Choiseul, who, as he expressed it, was "*l'ennemi juré du système de l'Amérique*". Choiseul found it easy to give away the two great colonies that had never been anything but a loss to France, where Galissonnière had found it impossible. One is tempted to ask, indeed, whether, had Choiseul been prime minister in 1755, the war might not have been avoided.

Mr. Pease has done a meticulous and scholarly job in his editorial work. One sometimes wonders why he selected one document instead of another. For example, why was the letter of the Earl of Morton to Lord Hardwicke, June 15, 1761 (Add. Mss. 32924:104), printed, but Newcastle's report of the very important cabinet meetings of June 24-6, 1761 (Add. Mss. 32924:311) omitted? After all, Morton wrote only as a public-spirited and interested private citizen, whereas William Pitt's memorandum to Stanley of June 26, is hardly to be understood without a knowledge of what happened at the cabinets preceding its composition. Occasionally, also, one arrives at a translation that differs slightly from that of the editor. One wonders, indeed, why so much precious space is given up to the translations, as it is hardly conceivable that this book will ever be much used by any students unable to read French.

But these are minor matters. This is a valuable addition to the diplomatic history of America, and especially to the history of the Anglo-French struggle for control of the Mississippi valley; it is an important chapter in what might be called the diplomatic history of the North American westward movement.

MAX SAVELLE

The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia: A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years. By JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 388. (\$4.00)

THIS sequel to the same author's earlier volume on *New England's outpost* brings the story of New England influence on Nova Scotia down to the close of the American Revolution. Like the *Outpost* it represents a prodigious amount of enthusiastic research from the widest variety of sources. Most of these are in the Archives in Ottawa and Halifax; but Professor Brebner is thoroughly familiar also with that goodly crop of monographs, published and unpublished, which has attended Professor Harvey's administration of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

After a brief integrating chapter or two on the setting in Nova Scotia during the Seven Years' War—the technique of the fisheries and the rivalries between the New England and the old—the “incoming tide” is traced from New England after 1760. These men “laid the abiding foundations of Nova Scotian life”; and Mr. Brebner might have added that the same board advocated the same methods and the same policy for the “secure settling” of the St. Lawrence valley as an integral part of the “Great Plan” of Shirley and of Halifax. The thumb-nail sketches of individuals and local enterprise—to the accompaniment of land-jobbing, rum, and speculation—are effective foils to the steady movement which shifted the real centre of gravity from Halifax to the “out-settlements”. The “humiliation of Chief Justice Belcher” whom Mr. Brebner rates “neither a fool nor a rogue” but a compound of “pomposity” and ambition, brought into the arena the pervasive influence of Joshua Mauger in London and of Michael Francklin in Nova Scotia; and the feud between the “Mauger interests” and “the new broom”, Dartmouth’s kinsman and protégé, Francis Legge, who came out as governor in 1773, forms the closing theme of the book.

Mr. Brebner takes up the cudgels without hesitation for the governor, and it must be conceded that he has made the most of the evidence against Legge’s enemies. The “Mauger interests” which by 1770 had engrossed the major interests (forgive the pun) of the province, defended their perquisites with every device known to that venal and cheese-paring age. Michael Francklin, perhaps the most influential Nova Scotian of his day, was a relative and during the crisis a debtor of Mauger’s, and “would take orders” (p. 151) from him and his agent Butler. The ramifications of this “inveterate party”, as Legge called it, reached from the council downwards until even the rum-sellers and “low Macanicks” had “their dependance” upon “these Menopolizers”. They had filled “every Coffee House in London” with “Falsehoods and unjust aspersions”. Within a month or two of his arrival Legge entered the fray with almost incredible vindictiveness, and they responded with such effect that when Legge was at last recalled, shaking his fist, as tradition has it, at the receding shores of Halifax, there was scarcely an articulate element in the province that did not join in execrating his memory. The rejoicing at Legge’s recall culminated in a dinner at the Great Pontac, attended by assemblymen, councillors, and the lieutenant-governor himself at “17 shillings a club”.

Despite the devices charged or implied against the governor’s enemies, it is hard to believe that everybody was out of step but our Jamie. The search for fiscal irregularities—those charged against Binney after audit and trial were unanimously assessed by the assembly at £186 7s. 7½d.—was directed by the governor himself who created a special exchequer court “for the more effective investigation of such cases”. Legge attended Binney’s trial in person and had refreshments brought from government house for the occasion. This vendetta by henchmen who directly “benefitted [as the assembly observed] by Prosecutions” is confirmed by the egregious correspondence of Burrow, the governor’s agent, until Suffolk himself, in Dartmouth’s absence, visited his majesty’s displeasure upon such “Ill humour, Anger and Resentments in Matters of the most trivial moment”. Legge in Mr. Brebner’s opinion was “very stupid” (p. 243), a victim of his own “obtuseness” and “natural authoritarian inclinations” (p. 255). Binney had “eagerly professed himself to be a conspicuous victim of his tyranny” (p. 261). “Little Burrow” was “something of an ass”. It must be added that he was also a vindictive liar, for when he found that Legge was doomed to recall, he assured his patron that he

had "most cordially joined" in the suggestion "on the proviso Francklin was dismissed"; there was still time to crush "these Vipers, and nest of Cormorants".

The truth was that neither miserable faction represented the real Nova Scotia. The assembly itself, in which Mr. Brebner discerns Halifax domination, belied such influences more than once by invoking a plague upon both their houses; and with regard to the main issues then abroad in America it rose to a level of public spirit which shamed them both. On the one hand, it petitioned against the appointment of any "native of the province" as governor, lieutenant-governor, or judge of the supreme court—a shaft aimed directly at Belcher and Francklin themselves. "The ambitions of affluent Individuals . . . have led to faction and partys. . . . The present disputes in America may have been promoted by this cause." On the other hand, when the governor sought to reduce the quorum of the assembly to nine and raise the representation of Halifax to ten, the house, under the resolute leadership of John Day, who himself represented the town of Halifax "by a great majority" (p. 229), detected a device to "render a Governor of this Province Absolute". "Dictatorial powers may be necessary to quell insurrections or to rule a disaffected People; but where no such principles exist, the exertion of such Powers will create them." The resentment of the house, moreover, was reciprocated by both factions. Butler, Mauger's own agent, deplored the "Levelling Principle" which had already "Ruin'd America"; and the governor impugned more than once "the American System of Popularity" led by "Mr. Day who . . . had resided at Philadelphia". It was calculated to "produce the same convulsions in this as in the other Provinces". Urging the necessity to "Suppress in embrio opposition to government, and to preserve a due Subordination", Legge commended the "example made of the Town of Boston", and advocated "coercive measures".

In the larger setting of the revolution during these most fateful days of British history, Mr. Brebner's balance between these miserable factions might fairly be reversed. Devious and acquisitive though the "Mauger Interests" may have been, the board of trade through which they sought to operate had a better specific for the settlement of the American question than the devastating folly of Knox, Gage, Carleton, and Legge—a concerted policy of arrogance and force which made the issue irremediable. The board was now in full retreat before Carleton's Quebec Act and the four "intolerable acts" of 1774. Carleton's elaborate scheme for marching "Canadians and Indians" from Quebec against New England (Carleton himself, after the junction with Howe, was to have the "full appointments of Commander-in-Chief") was duly supported by Gage in Boston who called upon Legge to raise the "Hylanders" and "Accadians" of Nova Scotia, and in particular to secure the Indians: "I may possibly have occasion for them in these parts." Legge responded by an appeal to Acadians, "Germans, Neutrals and Irish"; but when martial law was declared in December, 1775, and two measures were forced through for raising the militia by ballot and levying an assessment in specie, there was "an universal uproar". The whole precious triumvirate—Gage, Carleton, and Legge—was recalled, and Captain Stanton, Legge's egregious confidant with regard to the dour New Englanders of King's county, was directed almost savagely "to join his Regiment". Years afterwards, John Pownall, secretary to the board of trade and confidant of both Mauger and Francklin during the crisis in Nova Scotia, recalled poignantly to Dartmouth himself his minutes of the fateful "months of December 1774 and January and February 1775" when "peace offered itself through so many channels" but was "suddenly blasted" by other counsels: "God only knows who was to blame."

In this larger setting the attitude of the assembly and particularly of the "Neutral Yankees", as Mr. Brebner calls them, in Yarmouth and Cumberland is very easily surmised, "divided between natural affection to our nearest relations, and good Faith and Friendship to our King and Country". In June, 1775, in the shadow of Lexington, Day and his drafting committee prepared the secret addresses to king, lords, and commons, which, with their subsequent thanks for the governor's recall, fairly sealed Legge's fate with the American department. Even Dartmouth rounded at last upon his kinsman and protégé; for when Legge protested the assembly's claim to unanimity, Dartmouth rejoined scathingly: "it cannot be denied that it was the voice of a majority", and "the advice . . . will not be disapproved by the Crown".

The famous address of June 24, 1775, which Mr. Brebner refers to but does not quote—there is no reference to "Assembly" in the index!—is to be understood only in this larger context. It closed with an appeal to the "Spirit of Concord", and to "the Father of mercies" to "preserve constitutional Freedom to the British Race, in every part of the Globe". By comparison with Legge's obsession by "Matters of the most trivial moment respecting merely the Domestick Oeconomy of the Province"¹ this may fairly be called statesmanship of a high order; and it was carried through a unanimous assembly by John Day whose tragic death by lightning a few months later removed one of the choicest spirits of his day in Nova Scotia.

In the end the peninsular position of Nova Scotia with its vulnerability to sea power, together with Washington's formula of "defence but no conquest" which later proved to be Vergennes's formula also for the French and Spanish alliance, left the province outside the orbit of the revolution. Much of the assertive loyalism, in Mr. Brebner's opinion, was "hit upon" by Butler and Francklin as a "brilliant, if rather perverse, counteroffensive" to Legge. Whatever the effect of Legge's recall upon the long tradition of "confidence" in Nova Scotia, Mr. Brebner doubts whether the province was in any sense saved by it; though what would have happened had he been reinstated must surely defy imagination. Apart from the chapters on the feud with Legge, Michael Francklin receives more than one passing tribute. He had a comprehensive policy on mines and good roads; he "deserves much of the credit for breaking down official antipathy to the Acadians" (p. 108); he brought "well over one thousand settlers" to Nova Scotia; he was "the most valuable single Nova Scotian in the military tasks of the Revolution" (p. 226); his administration of the Indians was so successful that he may be called the "outstanding Nova Scotian defender of Nova Scotia"; and when he died in 1782 "two hundred chanting Indians attended his bier".

A very useful feature is an appendix of "amendments" to *New England's outpost*. With an excellent map and end-papers, this handsome volume is a credit to the Columbia University Press. The bibliography is excellent.

CHESTER MARTIN

Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S. By Vice-Admiral GORDON CAMPBELL. London: Hodder and Stoughton. [Toronto, The Musson Book Company.] 1937. Pp. 320. (15s.)

CAPTAIN COOK's life and work have been so completely covered by Kippis, Besant, Kitson, Professor Laughton in the *Dictionary of national biography*, and Sir Joseph Carruthers (not to mention the host of short articles) that the only justification

¹ Public Archives of Canada, *Nova Scotia state papers*, series A, vol. 94, p. 207: Suffolk to Legge, Oct. 16, 1775.

for a new biography is that it brings forward new and important facts or that it offers a new interpretation. The advent, therefore, of Vice-Admiral Gordon Campbell's biography was awaited with impatience, especially as its publication was deferred (so it was understood) to enable new materials to be worked into the story. But one rises from its perusal with a distinct sense of dissatisfaction: a sense of having read a familiar story, told it is true, in an easy pleasant way, but containing nothing important that is new either in fact or in atmosphere. The portions of Cook's life that especially touch Canada are his surveys of the St. Lawrence and the Newfoundland coast and his discovery of the north-west coast of America. But Canadians will search this book in vain for any new light on these subjects.

The author in his preface speaks of "the immense field of information" into which he has delved. If this means manuscript sources the delving has not yielded much reward, as may readily be seen by examining a few pages: for example, every statement on page 238 is to be found in Cook's *Third voyage* (1784 ed., I, 64-103); similarly page 240 is merely a drastic condensation of pages 136-72 of the same volume; again, page 242 represents pages 187-212 of that volume with a wee bit of a correction from Zimmermann; and not to multiply instances, page 261 is nothing but volume II, pages 258-74.

Here and there appear names and words long since abandoned: Manganoia island (p. 240) for Mangaia; Rotterdam island (p. 243) for Namuka; sea-horses (p. 270) for walrus; Morai (p. 277) for Heiau, in the Hawaiian islands. It would appear from page 263 that the learned author believes in the alleged voyages of de Fuca and de Fonte; but they have long ago been relegated to the limbo of departed myths, and any resemblance between their imaginary geography and the real is purely fortuitous. A few insignificant errors may be noted: 1597 (p. 256) for 1579, as the year of Drake's visit; John Ledyard was born in Connecticut in 1751, and hence was a British subject (p. 273); King George's Bay Company (p. 262) for King George's Sound Company.

In the latter part of the book Captain Cook's achievements are succinctly set forth and crystallized; but the author does not give us his evaluation of the man. Instead, he reproduces opinions with which the reader is already familiar: those of Miss Burney, Samwell, and Zimmermann. The pious wish that his work may serve as an introduction to the subject for those who desire to delve more deeply is but empty words, for the volume contains no citations to authorities, not even a partial list of books dealing with the great circumnavigator, and the eight-page list of manuscripts does not indicate their places of deposit nor attempt to distinguish amongst them as to their historical value.

The best that can be said of the book is that it adds one more to the list of elementary books on, but nothing to our knowledge of, Captain James Cook. The story flows easily along, and is aided by charts of the three voyages and by about a dozen fine illustrations, many of which are by Weber.

F. W. HOWAY

Charles Inglis: Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop (1734-1816). By REGINALD V. HARRIS. Toronto: General Board of Religious Education. 1937. Pp. 186. (\$1.25)

THIS work is a condensation of articles written by Archdeacon F. W. Vroom, the Rev. C. M. Serson, and Mr. Reginald V. Harris, the chancellor of the diocese of Nova Scotia, which appeared in *Church work*, during the years 1934-7. The group are to be congratulated, in particular Mr. Harris, not only for their extensive

research but for the revision of the articles which has resulted in so creditable a finished product. A noteworthy feature is the short sketch of all the characters mentioned in the narrative. The footnotes are excellent and where there are variations of information in the sources these have been noted.

Mr. Harris gives information as to the Scottish ancestry of Charles Inglis, who was born in Ireland in 1734, his emigration to America, his work as a teacher, his ordination, his pastoral duties at Dover, Delaware, and Trinity, New York. The Rev. Charles Inglis is portrayed as an able pamphleteer, as a strong supporter of the proposed extension of the episcopacy to America, and as a cleric interested in the evangelization of the Mohawks. The difficulties attendant upon the extension of the episcopacy to America and the position of the Anglican clergy during the American Revolution are outlined clearly. The writer notes the appointment of Inglis as bishop, the first such case in an overseas colony, his visitations, his assistance toward church building and the founding of educational institutions, and his relationships with other religious bodies.

The reviewer is not qualified to criticize some of the detail. He does feel, however, that a foot-note on the "New Lights", some further extracts from the diary, and some quotations from the bishop's first charge would have added strength to the work.

Mr. Harris has succeeded in giving a living picture of Charles Inglis, has included some excellent illustrations, and has provided an excellent example for later books along similar lines.

M. A. GARLAND

Migration from Vermont (1776-1860). By LEWIS D. STILWELL. (Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, n.s. V, no. 2.) Montpelier, Vermont: Vermont Historical Society. 1937. Pp. [ii, 183]. (75c.)

WHY did so many Vermonters find it wise or necessary to leave their state in the period between the revolution and the Civil War? What sort of people became emigrants? Where did they go, and how and why? Those are some of the questions Professor Stilwell set for himself and answered at great pains in a book that is interesting and highly informative.

More than half the sons and daughters of the Green mountains had left their homes before the Civil War began. The underlying causes of this great exodus were: the inauguration of sheep-raising on an unprecedented scale; the financial panic of 1837; the discouraging growth of manufacturers; the inherent Vermontian urge to uplift and save the world. The state was "throbbing with protests and programmes and propaganda", and evangels went out with their glad tidings, Brigham Young to Utah and Noyes to Oneida. From a deluge of "protracted meetings" Vermont missionaries and ministers carried the good word to the far corners of the country, to save the union from "infidelity, licentiousness and Popery". The laity emigrated, too, with banners of the cross, and found their temporal circumstances bettered. It was the legislature of Vermont that enacted in 1836 "that all circus riding, theatrical exhibitions, juggling or slight-of-hand, ventriloquism, and magic acts, shall be and are declared to be common and public nuisances", and there was a fine of \$200 for those who ventured to the contrary. Indeed, the state had an inordinate capacity for zealot excitement and millennial furor. Epidemics of revivals, the Mormons, the Perfectionists, the angry hostility against the Freemasons, against the Canadian government in 1837, against the liquor interests, against the slave-holders, were part of the same hectic crusading spirit. Out of every soul-stirring boiled a spurt of emigration.

When came the stifled cry of liberty in a foreign land, Vermont heard. In 1837 a dozen mass meetings passed resolutions condemning not only the Canadian government for opposing the patriots, but also the United States government for maintaining neutrality. The border towns became military camps where aid and succour were given without stint to Canadian refugees, and armed forces were fitted out for a whole series of raids over the border. Not until 1839 did the frontier burnings and riotings cease and the embattled Vermont sympathizers admit that they were backing a lost cause.

The great migration was, of course, to the west—steamboat to Whitehall on Lake Champlain, packet-boat to Troy on the Champlain canal, another packet-boat to Buffalo on the Erie canal, a steamer up the great lakes to Cleveland or Detroit, or Green Bay or Chicago. That was the favourite way—and only four weeks from Whitehall to Chicago. It was also the cheap way, the canal rate half a cent a mile. Deck passage, Buffalo to Detroit, cost \$3.00. In winter families undertook to make the long, slow trudge entirely by wagon. Some, indeed, went on horseback, and some on foot at least as far as Ohio.

Before 1830 the movement had mounted to the tens of thousands. By 1820 genuine pioneers from Vermont were trailing the empty prairie lands of northern Illinois and the hinterland of Detroit. Conspicuous in the drift were pedlars and printers, new-fledged attorneys and physicians, but outnumbering them all were common farmers searching for cheap land. Bankrupts joined the procession for the rigours of the debt laws drove them out. After 1830 the freshet became a flood, and in 1836 for the first time emigration became a public question in the state. Forty years later it was said that every man of prominence in the Republican state organization of Wisconsin was a Vermonter.

By 1840 the ebb had become a flow tide with the first appearance of Irishmen and French Canadians in the industrial towns. By 1850 the names of 14,000 Canadians appear in the census, but the same census shows that nearly 100,000 Vermonters had made domicile in other states, to say nothing of those who had gone to Lower Canada.

These Vermont men carried their place-names with them to the new west and, on a later trek, numbers of these names were carried to new frontier abodes. One finds Middleburg, Michigan, derived through Middleburg, New York, from Middleburg, Vermont; and Woodstock in Minnesota tracing its genealogy to the Green mountains by way of Woodstock, Illinois.

The book is well written. Canadian readers will find it interesting, not only for information bearing directly or indirectly on Canada, but also as an illustration of the methods which are useful in such a study of local history. For those who love foot-notes there are 1,200 of them. There is no index.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

Landnahme und Kolonisation in Canada am Beispiel Südontarios. Von CARL SCHOTT. Mit 59 Figuren im text und 55 Abbildungen auf Kunstdrucktafeln. (Schriften des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Kiel, herausgegeben von O. SCHMIEDER, H. WENZEL, und H. WILHELMY, Band VI.) Kiel, Schmidt & Klaunig. 1936. Pp. xvi, 330.

In Dr. Schott's interesting book on southern Ontario we possess a first and very valuable contribution to the historical geography of the province. The task of the historical geographer is never easy, for even in a country as young as Canada, the landscape which meets the geographer's eye to-day often presents a very false pic-

ture of the past and present relationship of the settler and his environment. To reconstruct, therefore, the original character of the southern Ontario landscape and to trace step by step, as the author has done, its gradual transformation under Indian, French, and British occupation, has been a task requiring wide geographic knowledge and historical research. Both the breadth of the author's researches and the difficulties naturally inherent in the interrelating of history and geography may perhaps best be seen in the organization of the book itself.

In its organization the book falls into three major divisions. The first three chapters, some forty pages, discuss the geological structure and climate of southern Ontario and attempt a detailed reconstruction of its physical appearance in the early days of European colonization. There follow two very brief chapters on the Indian and French occupation of the region, after which the author turns to the period of British colonization, a section which absorbs some four-fifths of the entire work.

The author's treatment of the British period falls again into several, somewhat less clearly marked divisions. The first twenty pages deal with the character and country of origin of new settlers to the province and discuss their shifting distribution and influence from earliest times to the present day. Some seventy pages are then devoted to the all-important question of land-survey and land-distribution, in which the author discusses in detail the consequences of colonial land policy from the time of Simcoe until the settlement of the "Queen's Bush". Having thus, so to speak, placed the settler upon the land, the concluding sections of the book trace the gradual development of the countryside, its agriculture, transportation routes and industry, growing urban centres, and changing architectural ideals from the beginning of the British period to the present day, with special emphasis, however, on the period before 1850. The book is well supplied with maps and concludes with an excellent selection of photographs and a very full and admirably arranged bibliography.

The two chapters on structure and climate, while perhaps unduly brief from a geographer's point of view, form an interesting background for the remainder of the book. The attempted reconstruction of the physical appearance of Upper Canada at the end of the eighteenth century is both new and instructive. The author has made extensive use of both printed and manuscript material, early books of travel, surveyors' field-books and journals, *etc.*, but nowhere has he allowed the general picture to be marred by the essentially local nature of his source-material. Following upon this reconstruction, the author's description of the early Ontario land system is particularly valuable. Nowhere before have the various methods of survey and the influence of the changing land laws of the colony been so concisely, yet critically reviewed. The concluding sections of the book are weakened by faulty organization, the author's arrangement of his material often interfering with consistent chronological development. In view of this, the absence of an index is doubly regrettable, even though compensated for by a very full table of contents. Whatever the minor inaccuracies of the book, however, they are more than outweighed by the mass of valuable material which the author has here brought together for the first time, while the interesting analogies and contrasts which the book suggests between Canadian and European forms of settlement should prove provocative to both European and Canadian scholarship.

E. K. M. SIMS

Un demi-siècle de vie politique. Par P. A. CHOQUETTE. Préface de ROBERT RUMILLY. Montréal: Les éditions Beauchemin. 1936. Pp. 352. (\$1.25)
Mercier. Par ROBERT RUMILLY. (Collection du Zodiaque, '35.) Montréal: Les éditions du Zodiaque, Librairie Déom Frère. 1936. Pp. 545. (\$1.00)

IN many respects these volumes are complementary, the practice and the philosophy, so to speak, of Quebec politics. In the first, M. Rumilly has put into literary form the political reminiscences of Judge Philippe Auguste Choquette. He gives us an attractive picture of an active man of varied interests alert at all times to defend what he considered to be the rights of French Canadians. Although an ally of Mercier and a friend of Laurier, M. Choquette does not seem to have shared many party secrets; his correspondence, especially his correspondence with Laurier, is not of great historical value.

In *Mercier*, M. Rumilly has attempted the more difficult task of portraying one of the most elusive and contradictory characters in Canadian history. Mercier has long wanted a biographer, yet it may be questioned whether M. Rumilly has filled that rôle. He has produced an appreciation and an apology, scarcely a critical and impartial study. Although he deals with controversial topics, M. Rumilly does not cite his authorities and, apart from a very general acknowledgement of assistance, there is nothing in the nature of a bibliography. M. Rumilly gives the conventional interpretation of Mercier's career, taking full advantage of its highly dramatic episodes. Of the arcana of Quebec politics, of the efforts to form a purely French-Canadian or national party, of the relations of that remarkable triumvirate, Mercier, Laurier, and Chapleau, we are told little that is new; of the profound economic and social changes that transformed Quebec during Mercier's life-time and powerfully influenced his career, we are told less. M. Rumilly has written with much charm and humour yet his *Mercier* remains a literary rather than an historical work.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

Quebec, Where Ancient France Lingers. By MARIUS BARBEAU. Illustrations by MARJORIE BORDEN. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1936. Pp. [x], 173. (\$2.50)

The Kingdom of Saguenay. By MARIUS BARBEAU. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1936. Pp. [x], 167. (\$2.75)

BOTH these books belong to a small but useful group of Canadiana of which we could do with a good many more, for they illuminate Canadian history with the little known and give it a reality which constitutional dialectics will never have. In *Quebec* M. Barbeau has described in a pleasantly simple manner some of the arts and crafts, the songs and dances, and the legends of French Quebec. He speaks with the affectionate familiarity of one who is both historian and the legatee of history, of the delicate and beautiful wood-carving to be found in so many corners of French Quebec; of the work of men like the Baillargés, Jean-Baptiste Côté, and Jobin; of the silver communion vessels, lamps, censers, and domestic objects like ewers and porringers; of the cradle songs and amusements of the French-Canadian people.

There is a rather conscious romanticism about the writing, almost nostalgic at times, because M. Barbeau is concerned, as are many of his people, with the slow—and perhaps not so slow—dissolution of the indigenous culture and sentiment that is the peculiar possession of his own people. "French culture", he says, "in Canada rested on twin factors: the vitality of ancestral traditions coupled with

isolation. Should either or both fail, we may wonder how long it can endure. . . ." The last corners of "Old France" are being swiftly invaded. For example, after Notre Dame in Montreal was built "the New York Gothic" style spread through Quebec, which "explains the ugliness of most of the renovated churches along the St. Lawrence" (p. 171).

All who are interested in the melting-pot "now boiling on the St. Lawrence" (p. 173) should read this book and books like it. The volume is profusely illustrated and well printed which makes it a pleasure to the eye.

The kingdom of Saguenay belongs to the bibliography of Canadian art. It is illustrated in black and white reproductions of drawings by eleven Canadian artists (not the most attractive feature of the volume) and consists chiefly of legends and stories of the St. Lawrence. There is a quaint nursery flavour about the telling, which nevertheless does not make them seem fit for the nursery.

Perhaps the most interesting sketch is "Père Raquette", a study of Mr. A. Y. Jackson, and through the dialogue, of the methods and philosophy of some of the other leaders in Canadian art. The sketch shows very clearly why this group of painters on the one hand seem to reveal this country, because they take the trouble to live in its landscapes and grow up with them, and on the other, why their bold and primitive man-handling of snow, rocks, trees, and scenes generally, struck, and here and there still strike, so rudely on eyes accustomed to the canvasses born in the polite travail of the fashionable studio.

T. W. L. MACDERMOT

The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-18. By ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 270. (\$3.00)

THIS book is published at an opportune moment. French-Canadian nationalism is once more a powerful political force in the dominion. The world situation looks distressingly like that which existed in the years 1912-4; Canadians are living daily in the fear of being obliged to choose again between intervention or non-intervention in a European war. If the choice must be made, the attitude of French Canada will become of supreme importance. An account of the relations between the two races in Canada during the years 1914-8 has thus much more than a merely historical interest.

Miss Armstrong very properly devotes several chapters to the background of the nationalist movement before entering upon a discussion of the war years. This part of the book provides a useful survey of the development of French Canada's political aspirations during the first hundred and fifty years under British rule. The author's thesis is that in spite of the racial struggles of the preceding years Canada was a united country at the outbreak of the war. "In 1914 Canadians of both races and all religions were bound in a sort of *union sacrée*. . . . The representatives of every shade of French Canadian political opinion, Liberals, Conservatives and even Nationalists seemed to vie with each other in expressing enthusiasm for the Allied cause and for Canadian participation." This statement she supports with numerous quotations from lay and ecclesiastical pronouncements, including even the redoubtable Bourassa. The change in the French-Canadian attitude came about, in her opinion, as a result of the re-emergence of the innate isolationism of Quebec, fortified by the stupidities of the English who had chosen this moment to attack the use of the French language in the Ontario schools and who carried the same lack of tact into their methods of enlistment and treatment of French-Canadian recruits. These blunders armed the more extreme nationalists

with the weapons they wanted. Bourassa repented of his earlier approval of the war and launched his crusade against imperialism. The two races drifted steadily apart until conscription and its enforcement brought the climax of the Quebec riots of March, 1918. After that blood-letting tempers began to ease and a greater tolerance to reassert itself, so that the worst bitterness had passed by the time the armistice had arrived.

For a general picture of the principal currents of opinion in Quebec during the war years, the book is excellent. Miss Armstrong has made a painstaking search through the pamphlet literature of the period, and also through the files not only of the larger French dailies but of the important local papers published in the smaller Quebec towns. She has appreciated the fact that the French press reflects the ideas of the French masses far more rapidly and accurately than does the English press the views of the English Canadians. Her book also brings out in some degree the tendency, always present in French-Canadian movements, of the popular leaders to go beyond the limits of what the Roman hierarchy would allow. She does not, however, look sufficiently below the surface of speeches and published statements to analyse the underlying conflicts within French-Canadian nationalism. To do so would have involved separating the religious influence from the purely racial and nationalist urges of the people, a task not easy to perform but one essential to the understanding of French Canada then as now. The support of the war given by the church in the early days of 1914 was wise and proper from the Catholic point of view as indicating support of constituted authority, but it was not necessary on any nationalist premise. Nationalism proved the stronger of the two influences during the war, and the church, especially the lower orders of the clergy, had to follow the popular trend or be left far behind. Quebec's vigorous isolationism was a product of her nationalism rather than of her Catholicism. The same nationalism was beginning to work amongst English Canadians in 1917, and Miss Armstrong might usefully have written more about the opposition to conscription in English Canada to show that the French Canadians were leaders in an attitude to commonwealth affairs which was spreading beyond Quebec.

The crisis in Quebec is well documented, has a useful bibliography and index, and contains an interesting appendix on the number of French Canadians in the Canadian expeditionary forces. It contains occasional errors, such as the statements that regulation 17 only applied to the first form of the elementary schools, and that the French Canadians constituted 40 per cent. of the population, while its reference to "the usual moderation and studied dignity of the *Mail and empire*" is courageous. The book remains a valuable contribution to a new and difficult field.

F. R. SCOTT

A Corner of Empire: The Old Ontario Strand. By T. R. GLOVER and D. D. CALVIN. London: Cambridge University Press. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xii, 178. (\$2.50)

KINGSTON, Ontario, has plenty of history, but this pleasant and well-written volume, consisting mainly of personal reminiscence, deals with only two phases of it, and these not very remote in time. Its authors are concerned with the timber shipbuilding industry of Garden Island in its declining years after 1890, and with Queen's University in its Principal Grant period about the same time. True, there are throwbacks to an earlier decade, to the shipping depression of the mid-seventies, when in order to keep going the shipyard built a salt-water vessel instead of the freshwater ones to which it had been confined, and even further back to the

fort-building days from 1812 to 1846 which left so many picturesque survivals. But the chief value of the book is the personal recollections of the authors, of Dr. Glover in his sphere as a young lecturer at the university, just out of his fellowship days, and of Mr. Calvin as the son (the infant son in some passages) of the owner of the Garden island shipyard. Both are observant men with good memories and a taste for judicious English; and both the professorial group and the rugged lumbermen and shipwrights come to life very vividly in different chapters. It is interesting to learn that even in Mr. Calvin's student days the senior philosophy class still opened with prayer. As for the operation of rafting, or floating timber to Quebec for export, the St. Lawrence type of raft, whose units were known as a "dram" or in French a "cage", has not been so fully and understandingly described by any previous writer. It is entirely different from the better known Ottawa river type, and much more strongly built. Both authors contribute many anecdotes of the university worthies of the first decade of this century, and they were certainly a memorable group.

B. K. SANDWELL

The Dairy Industry in Canada. By J. A. RUDDICK, W. M. DRUMMOND, R. E. ENGLISH, and J. E. LATTIMER. Edited by H. A. INNIS. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 299. (\$3.75)

As stated in the text, "This volume has been arranged (1) to describe the background of the industry in relation to world trade in general and trade with the United States in particular; (2) to give a general survey of the dairy industry as seen through the eyes of one who has been directly concerned with development; (3) to describe its problems generally and in relation to a specific region; and (4) to suggest the effects of tariff policy".

This monograph and reference work should attract the interest of a wide range of readers. The "Introduction to the Canadian economic studies", written by Professor Innis and included here, is a little gem of compressed writing which provides most of the salient points that have influenced the course of Canada's economic development, particularly as they are interrelated with the United States. The book is a mine of information on history and policy, not only for the dairy industry, but for the agricultural industry in general. The field of agricultural economics is broadened and strengthened by its publication. It provided an opportunity for the agricultural economist to collaborate with the economic historian and the agricultural administrator: the result justifies both method and purpose.

The introduction and part I, "Historical background", and part V, "American tariff policy and the Canadian industry", are no doubt included to provide a setting within the framework of Canadian-American relations. This reviewer would like to suggest that this book should be read entirely unmindful of such purpose. At times the authors strain a good deal to draw in American influences. As a matter of fact, the text provides ample evidence to make just as good a case for the effect on Canadian dairying of Danish practices and personalities.

Part II, "The development of the dairy industry in Canada", is, for several reasons, a unique contribution to Canadian economic literature. The author, Mr. Ruddick, has had a very distinguished civil service record, dating back to the

beginnings of the Dominion department of agriculture. To supplement his rich store of administrative experience, he makes exhaustive use of early records, extracts from farm journals, and correspondence with the living participants of pioneer efforts. Thus, he has preserved, in a rare way, the evidences of those human and material forces that moulded a new country. His style of writing makes interesting reading out of what might have become a tedious effort if presented by a more erudite but less capable narrator. While most of the material is factual, the reader will find comments which provoke and illuminate, as for instance on page 98: "The position of voluntary organizations has been weakened by the establishment of dairying services by provincial departments of agriculture."

Professor Drummond is responsible for part III, "Problems of the Canadian dairy industry". He first attacks the problem of efficiency and what he has to say on the value of cow-testing associations is much to the point. The development of this practice is traced and reasons are advanced for the failure of farmers to give it ready acceptance. The whole chapter is excellent. In subsequent chapters Mr. Drummond analyses the problems of butter and cheese, whole milk marketing, market outlets, and attempts at artificial price raising. Space does not permit the extended review these sections deserve. I should like to draw attention, however, to the fact that the chapters on marketing and price raising provide an unbiased analysis of the causes and results of market control in the Canadian dairy industry. This reviewer accepts the conclusion that such policies were predicated on emergency conditions and short-run economics. I do not agree with the statement on page 178 that "the fear of open violence . . . left public authorities [in Winnipeg] with little choice".

Part IV, "Problems of a specialized area—The Fraser valley", is written by Mr. R. E. English and adequately portrays the dairy situation in an area which has faced peculiar problems with rather unusual remedies.

The concluding section, "American tariff policy and the Canadian dairy industry", is most difficult to appraise. Chapter i, "The background of the depression", contains several statements which have dubious validity, such as "over long periods rising land prices have been a source of additional revenue to the owner-operator". In most cases rising prices of land are an additional burden for it is hard to see how an owner-operator can receive the income unless he stops farming the land, in which case another owner-operator has his costs increased. The chapter on American tariff policy is clearly developed and well documented.

Chapter iii, part V, "Conclusion", may annoy many as it did this reviewer. It annoyed me because in twelve pages at the end of the book Mr. Innis draws together all the problems of the industry and one receives the impression that many of them have not been adequately covered in preceding sections. For example, he stresses competition between western Canada and eastern Canada; competition with New Zealand; competition between fluid milk and butter and competition with other crops. As the author suggests, this is really the core of the dairy problem and yet no attempt is made to measure objectively the results of these forces.

Apart from this rather serious omission, an omission which is, no doubt, the result of the restrictions and limitations imposed by joint authorship, *The dairy industry in Canada* should hold its own with the other volumes in this series and deserves a fairly high rank in Canadian economic literature.

H. C. GRANT

NOTES AND COMMENTS

(The contribution of information suitable for this section is welcomed.)

APPOINTMENT OF A DOMINION ARCHIVIST

The announcement was made on November 26 of the appointment of M. Gustave Lanctot as dominion archivist in succession to the late Sir Arthur Doughty. In addition to his long term of service at the Archives M. Lanctot has had a broad and varied training for his new post. While a student at the University of Montreal he read law with Sir Lomer Gouin and Senator Rodolphe Lemieux. After working on a Montreal newspaper he went to Oxford University on a fellowship from Lord Strathcona and received his degree in political and historical science. Later he studied at the Sorbonne, where he received his degree of doctor of the University of Paris. He was appointed to the staff of the Archives in 1912. He went overseas in 1915 and two years later was appointed a member of the war archives survey. After the war he returned to the Archives as assistant-director of war trophies.

M. Lanctot has written a number of books and articles and is well known on both sides of the Atlantic as an authority on the history of New France. He has been a frequent and valued contributor to this REVIEW. It is worthy of remark that he has at all times had a scholarly approach to his subject and this gives historians confidence that under his direction the work of the Archives will be carried on with insight and a true appreciation of its importance.

The REVIEW would like at this time also to say a word of the work of Dr. James F. Kenney who has been in charge of the Archives during the period of transition following Dr. Doughty's retirement. He has carried on the direction of the Archives with energy under difficult circumstances and we would wish him to know that his services have been appreciated.

This REVIEW has on several occasions deplored the persistent failure in Canada to show any adequate appreciation of the importance of such institutions as a national library and a national archives. In England the essential service of the Public Record Office as the government department for the preservation and organization of official papers has been well understood for many years. The British Museum, in addition to its great collection of books, has a vast mass of private papers and other historical records distinct from those of the Public Record Office. In the United States the Library of Congress has for years played the rôle of a national library and a repository for many important collections of private papers. During the past few years a National Archives has been established at Washington after the most thorough investigation and planning for the preservation of official records, and ample funds have been placed at the disposal of the staff to ensure that the work will be carried on with every facility provided by modern science. Other illustrations could be drawn from less wealthy countries. Needless to say such institutions are amply supported because it is generally recognized that they accomplish work of great permanent national importance. It is no reflection on the magnificent work done by Dr. Doughty in the Archives to say that at the present moment Canada is far from being in the position she should be with regard to institutions of the type which have been mentioned. This is, in fact, putting the case mildly and it should be a matter of regret and humiliation.

At a time when much is being said of the growth of a Canadian consciousness and culture, may we urge on those in authority with all seriousness the claims of national library and archival collections as a consideration of national importance?

HISTORICAL BROADCASTS

The committee appointed by the Canadian Historical Association is co-operating with the C.B.C. in producing a series of broadcasts entitled "Canadian portraits", given over the corporation's network every Thursday evening at 10.30 P.M. (E.S.T.). Each talk is on an historical figure, important in some phase of the country's history, but not generally well known. The individuals selected are taken from different periods, areas, and fields of activity. There are educationalists, poets, musicians, explorers, politicians, and others. Those who give the broadcasts are experts in the various fields of history. The series began on September 30 with a talk by Dr. H. J. Cody on Dr. Tassie, and has continued on a variety of figures, given by a number of students of history. Plans are already made to carry the series through April. The committee, too, is considering a number of suggestions for further series on Canadian history.

The Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University, which was established to facilitate co-operation between the governments and the universities of the Maritime Provinces, for the promotion of efficient public administration, is publishing a new quarterly, *Public affairs*. The journal will be devoted mainly to the Maritime Provinces and will discuss the administrative problems of the provincial and local governments, and the social, economic, and educational questions that affect the public life of eastern Canada. The first number (August, 1937) includes articles on relief, assessment, dominion-provincial finance, and adult education and the co-operative movement in eastern Nova Scotia.

Miss Bertha E. Josephson, editorial associate of the *Mississippi valley historical review*, is working on a "Handbook for historical writing". For her chapter on foot-note construction she invites historians to submit examples of typical, and also of particularly difficult, specimens in foot-note citation for the following fields: ancient, far-eastern, medieval, modern European, Hispanic-American, Canadian, and English history. She is especially interested in examples of archival material and unpublished manuscript references in these fields. Suggestions should be addressed to Miss B. E. Josephson, 104 Hitchcock Hall, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

At a session of the Anglican Church Synod last May a resolution was passed to collect material for a history of the church of England in New Brunswick, and a committee consisting of Archdeacon Cody and Mrs. C. Lawrence of Saint John was appointed for the purpose. Sub-committees have recently been named to gather material and supply it to Archdeacon Cody who will write it in book-form.

The contributors of articles to this issue of the REVIEW are: Dr. L. S. Stavrianos of the department of history of Queen's University; Mr. R. G. Riddell and Professor H. A. Innis of the University of Toronto; Dr. Hugh Morrison of Prince Rupert, B.C.; Dr. J. J. Talman of the Ontario Archives; and Professor W. B. Kerr of the University of Buffalo.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(*The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW will be pleased to supply information with regard to books or publishers mentioned in its pages.*)

Since this section was begun in the June issue, we have received a number of comments which indicate that the book-notes for teachers may be made to serve a really useful purpose. A large number of books and a considerable variety of topics have already been touched on, and we believe that in course of time the cumulative value of these notes will become increasingly apparent. To ensure that the notes will be as useful as possible, the REVIEW has asked for the advice and co-operation of a number of high-school teachers. We are sure that there are still others who may have suggestions and we hope they will not hesitate to write. Specific suggestions as to books or articles which should be mentioned will be especially appreciated, although it may not be possible to put every suggestion into effect at once. We trust, however, that these notes will be regarded as an experimental venture to which teachers themselves are making an important contribution.

Selected titles in International Relations

Those who wish a brief well-balanced factual survey of international relations from 1919 to 1936 will welcome E. H. Carr's *International relations since the peace treaties* (Macmillan, 1937, \$2.75). It may be supplemented by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A short history of international affairs, 1920-1934* (Oxford, 1934, \$2.25), based on the Chatham House publications, and by Richard Freund's *Zero hour* (Saunders, 1937, \$3.50), the best of the books by the special correspondents. A helpful atlas of international events with brief explanatory letter-press is J. F. Horrabin's *Atlas of current affairs* (Knopf, 1936, \$1.50). Sir Alfred Zimmern is the latest expert commentator upon the League of Nations in his *The League of Nations and the rule of law, 1918-1936* (Macmillan, 1936, \$3.75). Each year the Information Section of the League secretariat produces its *Essential facts about the League of Nations* (1937, 25c.). Another annual series is "The problems of peace" the eleventh being entitled *The League and the future of the collective system* (Allen and Unwin, 1937, 7s. 6d. and consisting of expert lectures upon the league and world politics delivered at Geneva. The Foreign Policy Association, 8, West 40th street, New York, is producing some timely pamphlets (paper, 25c., boards, 35c.) which make effective use of pictorial statistics. The latest are called *Peaceful change* and *Changing governments*. Two vigorous books on the prospect of democracies living peacefully in the same world as dictatorships are H. F. Armstrong, *We or they* (Macmillan, 1936, \$1.50) and Professor Calvin Hoover's *Dictators and democracies* (Macmillan, 1937, \$1.50). The problem of neutrality in a warlike world is analysed concisely by Messrs. Dulles and Armstrong in *Can we be neutral?* (Harper, 1936, \$1.50). As a background for the present crisis in the far east Mr. G. F. Hudson's *The far east in world politics* (Oxford, 1937, \$2.25) gives a compact sketch of the policies of the great powers in the past century. From Japan comes William Henry Chamberlin's *Japan over Asia* (Little, Brown, 1937, \$3.50) (written by a veteran correspondent who analyses the forces that drove Japan to such a desperate policy). Uncritical but most illuminating is a book from another American correspondent, Edgar Snow's *Red star over China* (Gollancz, 1937, 18s.). It is the first description from within of the Chinese soviets and offers a clue to the mysterious kidnapping of Marshal Chiang Kai Shek last December. The best brief analysis of the Spanish civil war up till the spring of 1937 is F. White, *War in Spain* (Longmans, 1937, \$1.00). Recently A. L.

Kennedy, a former *Times* foreign editor, has described clearly the problem of Anglo-German relations in *Britain faces Germany* (Nelson, 1937, \$1.50). It is surprising how much can be learned of the German problem by the use of three biographies, J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Hindenburg, the wooden titan* (Macmillan, 1936, \$6.25), Antonina Vallentin, *Frustration, Stresemann's race with death* (Constable, 1935, \$1.50), and Konrad Heiden, *Hitler* (Macmillan, 1936, \$3.00). No books as good are as yet available on Russia or Italy but D. S. Mirsky's *Lenin* (Little, Brown, 1931, 5s.) and Sir Charles Petrie's *Mussolini* (Studio Publications, 1931, \$1.50) in the "Makers of the modern world series" are useful. (Another Penguin bargain is the republication at sixpence of H. C. Armstrong's exciting life of Kemal Attaturk entitled *Grey wolf*). [F. H. SOWARD]

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW publishes each year in the June issue an annual review article on the literature touching Canada's foreign relations. An extensive bibliography is included. Professor Soward is the author of the last two of these review articles.

Historical fiction for children

In the past two years a number of historical novels for children have appeared, with their scenes laid in New France, the Ohio country, and the thirteen colonies. *Sword of the wilderness* by Elizabeth Coatsworth (Macmillan, 1936, \$2.00) is a story of life among the Indians in Maine and New France in 1689. In *A little maid of Quebec* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1936, \$1.50), Miss Alice Turner Curtis tells of a little girl of Quebec in 1776 who is captured by Indians and plays a part in Benedict Arnold's defeat. Another book about Quebec is Mrs. E. H. Bennett's *A treasure ship of old Quebec* (Macmillan, 1936, \$2.00) in which a party of modern children are taken on a treasure-hunt over the city and learn a great many interesting stories about its history. Mr. Allan Dwight's *Drums in the forest* is an exciting tale which provides for young students a picture of life in New France and among the *coureurs-de-bois* in the north-west, which is usually accurate and always thrilling. The hero's adventures begin in the year 1686 and the readers are introduced to Frontenac and the Indians, to Denonville, and to Nicolas Perrot (on whose memoirs the historical information in the book is largely based). Two books deal with George Rogers Clark and his adventures in the north-west in the days of the American Revolution: *The trail blazers* by LAWTON B. EVANS (Springfield, Mass., McLoughlin Bros., 95c.) and *Down the Ohio with Clark* by Charles Franklin Lender (New York, Crowell, 1937, \$2.00). A book about the War of 1812 is *Privateer ahoy!* by Edouard A. Stackpole (New York, Morrow, \$2.00), which tells of a young farm-lad's adventures fighting at sea. For the student who would like to read his history in French, we would recommend an illustrated story about Jacques Cartier by Eugène Achard, entitled *L'homme blanc de Gaspé* (Montréal, Librairie générale Canadienne, 5608 avenue Stirling, \$1.25).

Pamphlets for teachers of history

Many teachers of history are unaware of the numerous pamphlets which are available at low cost. Among the most noteworthy of those which have recently come to our attention are the Historical Association pamphlets, published by G. Bell and Sons, and sold to non-members for 1s. 1d. The numbers for 1937 are *The Victorian age* by D. C. Somervell and *The voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot* by J. C. Williamson. Others of the same series include: *A list of illustrations for use in history teaching in schools*; *The manor*; *The control of foreign policy in the British Commonwealth of Nations*; *Social life in Scotland since 1707*; *East London*;

British foreign policy since the war; The English house; and Norman London, including a map of London in the reign of Henry II, the last, 2s. 6d.

Another series is *International conciliation*, published monthly except July and August by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th street, New York, at 5 cents per single copy, 25 cents for one year, and \$1.00 for five years. No. 331, of this year, contains a comprehensive account of the United States and world organization during 1936, with special reference to the League of Nations, and also the terms of the Neutrality Act of April 29, 1937. These pamphlets will be of interest: No. 323, "World police for world peace" by Viscount Allenby; No. 325, "New league or no league" by Lord Lothian, and "A demilitarized League of Nations" by L. P. Jacks; No. 327, Text of the new constitution of the U.S.S.R. and text of the German-Japanese agreement on communism.

The *Howard journal* is an annual review of modern methods for the prevention and treatment of crime and juvenile delinquency. It is the official organ of the Howard League for Penal Reform, which includes among its officers Lord Mamhead of Exeter, Lord Arnold, Mr. Laurence Housman, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Sir Michael Sadler. The most recent edition (available at the league headquarters, Parliament Mansions, Victoria street, London) contains these articles valuable to the teacher of social history: "The North sea camp: A Borstal experiment"; "The criminal statistics"; "English prisons"; "Democracy and the death penalty"; "Problems of a juvenile court magistrate"; and "Probation officers and the social services". The price of the journal is 1s. 3d. post paid. Additional publications of the Howard Society include: *The penal reformer* (quarterly), 1s. 2d. post paid; *The place of John Howard in prison reform* (6d.); *The progress of English criminology* (3d.); *Borderline cases and crime* (3d.); *The ethics of punishment* (3d.), and *The children's bill* (6d.). [DOUGLAS M. BROWN]

Miscellaneous notes

Of special interest to secondary school-teachers in Ontario, because its authors are members of the economics department of Ottawa High School of Commerce, is *Evolution and economics of transportation* by Albert G. Steinberg and Joseph W. Hopkins (Pitman, 1936, \$1.25). Although written primarily for classes in economics, the book contains three sections which will be of value to students of Canadian and British history, and which, therefore, recommend the book for the school or class-room library. The subject-matter is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with the history of transportation, modern transportation facilities, Canadian transportation development, and the economics of transportation. There are almost a hundred illustrations, and an authoritative reference list completes each chapter. [DOUGLAS M. BROWN]

The Copp Clark Company has published a revised and enlarged edition of *Stories from Canadian history* by the late T. G. Marquis (1936, 50c.). The book begins with the discovery of America and carries the reader through a series of tales of the more interesting and romantic incidents and figures in Canadian history, down to the Boer War. It is to be recommended as supplementary reading for young students of Canadian history.

The Junior Historical Club of the Kamloops High School is to be congratulated on its history of *Kamloops 1812-1937*. This little mimeographed book of 107 pages (with a bibliography and an index) was compiled by the members of the society under the direction of Mr. F. H. Johnson. The illustrations and block-prints were drawn and cut by the club members, and the volume represents a piece of "research" in local history which is very creditable from every point of view.

Three interesting and important articles have recently appeared on the Rebellion of 1837: "The Rebellion of 1837 in its larger setting" by Professor Chester W. New and "The common man in the era of the rebellion in Upper Canada" by Professor Fred Landon, in the *Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1937*; and "The economic background of the rebellions of eighteen thirty-seven" by Professor D. G. Creighton, in the *Canadian journal of economics and political science*, August, 1937.

Reviews of the following books in this issue may perhaps be of special interest to the readers of this section: *North west passage*, Mr. Kenneth Roberts's excellent novel based on vivid incidents of the Seven Years' War in America (p. 435); the Champlain Society's monumental edition of the *Works of Champlain* (p. 431); and *The crisis of Quebec* by Miss E. H. Armstrong (p. 446), a study of the province of Quebec during the Great War.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Argenteuil Historical Association, Argenteuil, Quebec. A museum is being started by the association in the barracks at Argenteuil.

Bath Historical Society. President, Dr. Burleigh, Bath, Ontario.

The British Columbia Historical Association held its annual meeting on October 8, 1937. A report was read by the secretary which showed the membership at the present time to be 133 in Victoria, 192 in Vancouver, and 87 members at large, making a total of 412. The rapid growth of the association is largely due to the *British Columbia historical quarterly*. The presidential address by Dr. Kaye Lamb dealt with "Early lumbering on Vancouver Island, 1844-65". Dr. T. A. Rickard gave an interesting account of the historic relic left by Sir Francis Drake, recently found near San Francisco. President, Dr. W. N. Sage, Vancouver; vice-presidents, Dr. J. S. Plaskett, Victoria, Kenneth Waites, Vancouver; honorary secretary, Mrs. Muriel R. Cree, Victoria; honorary treasurer, E. W. McMullen, Victoria; council, Dr. Kaye Lamb, Victoria; His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster; the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, Princeton; B. A. McKelvie, Victoria; J. M. Coady, Vancouver; H. T. Nation, Victoria; permanent address, The Provincial Library, Victoria.

British Columbia Historical Association: Vancouver Section. The Vancouver section held its annual meeting on October 28, 1937. The annual report of the secretary showed that the four meetings of the association had been addressed by outstanding students of British Columbian history, and that the membership had increased from 95 in October, 1936, to 195 in October, 1937. "British Columbia's position among the five Canadas" was the subject chosen by Professor Sage for his presidential address. He spoke of the geographical and cultural divisions of Canada, and then confined his remarks to the Pacific province. President, Dr. R. L. Reid, K.C.; vice-president, Reginald Tupper, K.C.; secretary, Helen R. Boutilier; treasurer, K. A. Waites; council, Dr. W. N. Sage, Major J. S. Matthews, J. M. Coady, Mrs. Thos. Kirk, D. A. McGregor, J. R. V. Dunlop, S. W. Matthews, W. C. Ditmars.

British Columbia Historical Association: Victoria Section. On August 7, an interesting and successful "pioneers' garden party" was given at Molton Combe, Oak bay, to which were invited the pioneers of 1862 who were in Victoria in the year of its incorporation. The annual meeting of the section was held on October 28, 1937, at which Dr. T. A. Rickard, the presiding officer, presented an interesting

paper on "Early gold discoveries in British Columbia". He traced the work of the native Indians in first finding and exploiting the precious metal and linked the subsequent development of mining in the province to the discoveries of gold in California. President, Dr. T. A. Rickard; vice-president, John Goldie; honorary secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; honorary treasurer, Miss Madge Wolfenden; council, Dr. J. S. Plaskett, Dr. Kaye Lamb, E. W. McMullen, G. S. McTavish, J. B. Munro, T. W. S. Parsons, Mrs. Curtis Sampson, Major H. Nation, Major Sisman.

The Cape Sable Historical Society, with headquarters at Barrington, N.S., has been active in promoting and sponsoring a number of interesting historical events. In September of this year, the society co-operated with the historic sites and monuments board of Canada in the unveiling of a cairn, marking the site of old Fort St. Louis, the last fort held by the French in Acadia. Professor D. C. Harvey presided, and the principal address was given by Mr. B. H. Doane of New York, a former Barringtonian. The cairn was unveiled by Mr. J. W. Smith of Barrington. The inscription on the plate is in both French and English, and briefly outlines the history of the fort. The outstanding achievement of the society's activities in 1936 was an historical pageant commemorating the 175th anniversary of the settling of Barrington in 1761 by the New England pioneers. In August, 1934, the society arranged and sponsored the programme in connection with the unveiling of a bronze tablet, placed on "the Old Meeting House" at Barrington. Mr. J. W. Smith presided at the ceremonies. [Mrs. G. F. RICHAN, corresponding secretary, Barrington Passage, N.S.]

The Champlain Society has recently published Patrick Campbell's *Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America, 1791-1792* edited by Mr. H. H. Langton. Professor Glazebrook has virtually completed the preparation of the manuscript of his edition of the *Hargrave letters*, and these letters, which will be found to be of great interest to historians of the Canadian west, should be ready for distribution to members early next year. The edition of Sagard's *Grand voyage* undertaken by Professor Wrong and Mr. Langton is also well forward, and should be ready for distribution next year. A brief history of the society has been prepared and sent to members. President, Sir Robert Falconer, K.C.M.G.; secretaries, W. S. Wallace, Harold Walker; treasurer, H. H. Langton; assistant secretary-treasurer, Miss Julia Jarvis.

The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal held its nineteenth annual meeting on November 2, 1937, in the memorial town hall with the president, Colonel E. K. Eaton, in the chair. Colonel Eaton announced that the subject of study for the coming year would be the life of Lord Durham. The following officers were elected: honorary president, Dr. J. Clarence Webster; president, Colonel E. K. Eaton; vice-presidents, the Rev. Charles deW. White, T. H. H. Fortier; secretary, Mrs. F. C. Gilliatt; treasurer, Walter C. Delany.

The Kingston Historical Society plans to co-operate with the municipality in the celebration of the centenary of Kingston's charter in 1938.

The Ontario Historical Society held its thirty-ninth annual meeting on September 23 and 24 in Ottawa, at the invitation of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of that city. The ladies were generous hostesses, providing on the first day a luncheon at the Chateau Laurier and on the second a tour of the city of Ottawa, ending with a visit to their Bytown Museum where refreshments were served. Through them also, Her Excellency, the Lady Tweedsmuir, indicated a wish to receive the visitors whom she entertained at afternoon tea at Rideau Hall.

The regular sessions of the society were held in the Archives building and the open evening meeting in the auditorium of the National Museum. An interesting feature of the programme was an address by Dr. Kenney on the collections and function of the Canadian Archives, followed by an inspection of the various departments. For the luncheon the ladies had invited Professor R. G. Trotter as guest speaker and he dealt in a very interesting way with the question "Is Ontario American?"

The programme for the regular sessions included papers on "The Upper Canada Central School" by Dr. George W. Spragge, "Road and roadmaking in early Canada" by Professor Norman Macdonald, "The invasion of Navy island 1837-8" by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, and "A U.E. loyalist family (Macdonell)" by Mr. W. L. Scott, K.C. At the open meeting addresses were given by Mr. H. P. Hill, K.C., on the history of the Ottawa site and by Mr. Louis Blake Duff on changes in social outlook, particularly toward capital punishment, during the last one hundred years.

The officers for the year 1937-8 are: president, Dr. J. J. Talman, Toronto; immediate past president, David Williams, Collingwood; vice-presidents, Dr. Percy J. Robinson, Aurora, the Rev. Percival Mayes, Niagara Falls; committee members, Dr. C. W. Jefferys, York Mills, Dr. George W. Spragge, Toronto, Mrs. D. C. McGregor, Swansea, Mrs. J. M. Mussen, Niagara-on-the-Lake; secretary-treasurer, J. McE. Murray. [J. McE. M.]

The Royal Society of Canada held its fifty-sixth annual meeting in Toronto in May, 1937. The society's medals were awarded as follows: the Flavell medal to Dean Adams of McGill; the Lorne Pierce medal to Professor Stephen Leacock; and the Tyrrell medal to M. Ægidius Fauteux. The library of the society, which is housed with the National Research Council, received, approximately, 1,200 volumes during the past year. President, A. G. Huntsman; vice-president, Victor Morin; honorary secretary, Arthur Beauchesne, House of Commons, Ottawa.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society was formed in June, 1936, with offices in the Normal School building in Regina. Its objects are: (1) to gather and correlate everything having to do with the history of the province and of that portion of the North West Territories from which it was created at the time of provincial establishment in 1905; (2) to assist in the formation of local historical societies and committees at strategic points; (3) to gather relics of historic interest. The society has been very active and successful in the past year and a half. Committees of historical research have been established and are systematically investigating subjects such as the early history of Regina, education in Saskatchewan, the early history of the Qu'Appelle, etc. Public interest has been aroused, old-timers have been interviewed, questionnaires have been sent out. The society has begun the collection of historical relics, books, documents, pictures, etc., relating to the history of the province. Scrapbooks are being kept and carefully indexed. Local societies are being encouraged throughout Saskatchewan, and an active association embracing Fort Qu'Appelle and Lebret has been established. President, J. A. Gregory; vice-presidents, E. C. Leslie, K.C.; John R. Green, Mrs. T. D. Brown; secretary, Z. M. Hamilton.

The Similkameen Historical Association held its seventh annual meeting in the Orange hall, Princeton, and more than 150 persons from all parts of the valley attended the supper gathering. Mr. J. A. Schubert, the honorary president and one of the few remaining survivors of the overland expedition of 1862, told of life in the sixties in Kamloops, Okanagan, and Cariboo. At the quarterly meeting held in October, Mr. C. R. Mattice read an interesting paper on the history of the Great Northern Railway in Similkameen, and Mr. Goodfellow told of an expedition

in company with Mr. W. A. ("Podunk") Davis from Tulameen to the summit of Jackson mountain. [JOHN GOODFELLOW]

La Société Historique des Cantons de l'Est (Eastern Townships Historical Society). During the last year the society was actively engaged in the preparation of the historical pageant given during the celebrations of the Sherbrooke centenary. During the next season a series of public lectures is planned. President, Dr. Valmore Olivier; vice-president, J. Donat Dufour; archivist, the Rev. Canon Michel Couture; secretary, the Rev. J. H. Dubuc. The archives of the society are located at St. Charles' College, Sherbrooke, P.Q.

La Société Historique d'Ottawa. M. Louis Charbonneau gave before the society a detailed account of the history and rights of separate schools in Ontario.

La Société Historique du Saguenay. President, the Rev. Victor Tremblay; vice-president, M. J.-C. Gagné; secretary, the Rev. Francis Lemay; treasurer, M. J.-Omer Lapointe; corresponding secretary, the Rev. Lorenzo Angers; archivist, the Rev. Floribert Coulombe; librarian, the Rev. Alphonse Tremblay; permanent address, Le Séminaire de Chicoutimi, P.Q.

La Société Trifluvienne d'Histoire Régionale. At the meeting of February 6, 1937, M. Montarville Boucher de la Bruère gave an address on the chapels of the district before 1660, and the Rev. Alexandre Dugré presented a paper on the old Jesuit mill at Cap de la Madeleine. On July 4, the society organized a successful public fête at Cap de la Madeleine; interesting speeches were made by the Rev. R. P. Francoeur, M. Ls-D. Durand, M. Alexandre Dugré, M. Omer-J. Desaulniers, M. P. Eugène Trudel, and Mgr Olivier Maurault. M. Dollard Dubé spoke to the society's meeting of November 20 on the sources of local documents and M. Raymond Douville on the archives of the Hart family. President, Ls-D. Durand; vice-president, the Rev. Henri Vallée; secretary, the Rev. Albert Tessier; treasurer, Robert Trudel. The permanent address of the society is Le Séminaire des Trois-Rivières, Les Trois-Rivières, P.Q.

Thompson Valley District Historical and Museum Association. The new historical museum, which the Kamloops 125th anniversary committee re-erected in Riverside park from timbers from old Fort Kamloops, was under the supervision of the association during the summer. Over 540 photographs of early days and figures in Kamloops and district were gathered and catalogued by Mr. Burt R. Campbell, and a number of Indian and other relics were put on display under the direction of Messrs. D. Power and J. J. Morse. The museum was opened to the public two evenings and Sunday afternoon of each week during the summer, and many visitors examined the building and its collections. The object of the association is to establish a permanent museum in Kamloops under its supervision. At the present time funds are needed for the proper management of its collection of photographs. President, J. J. Morse; secretary, G. D. Brown, jr., P.O. Box 64, Kamloops; membership, 37.

Thunder Bay Historical Society. President, Carson F. Piper, 507½ Victoria avenue, Fort William; vice-presidents, W. Russell Brown, A. H. D. Ross, P. E. Doncaster; secretary-treasurer, E. Gertrude Jones, Kamden Apartments, Fort William.

The Waterloo Historical Society held its twenty-fifth meeting at Kitchener on October 29. The society received with regret the announcement of the retirement of Mr. D. N. Panabaker, Hespeler, from the presidency after eleven years' service. Mrs. T. D. Cowan gave an interesting paper on the history of the Mill Creek school, north of Galt; and Dr. J. J. Talman spoke on the press of Upper Canada

prior to the Rebellion of 1837. President, H. W. Brown, Kitchener; vice-president, W. W. Snider, St. Jacobs; secretary-treasurer, P. J. Fisher, Kitchener.

Women's Canadian Club, Saint John, N.B. President, Mrs. E. Atherton Smith; vice-presidents, Mrs. Walter W. White, Miss E. A. Addy, Mrs. H. Usher Miller, Mrs. Lewis V. Lingley; corresponding secretary, Miss Katherine C. Bates, 80 Duke street, Saint John; historian, Miss Louise Lingley.

The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa held a special general meeting on April 9, when the society was honoured by the presence of Her Excellency, the Lady Tweedsmuir, who gave a very interesting historical sketch of Holyrood palace, Edinburgh. Two largely attended receptions were held in May and October in the Bytown Museum where excellent work has been done by the director, Miss Primrose McLean, and her committee, Miss Anna Murphy and Miss Judith Sparks. In July, an historical outing was arranged by Mrs. E. M. Kindle, at Sand Point where a short talk was given on the early days of the Ottawa river by Mr. Young. At Portage du Fort, St. Georges Anglican church and the Roman Catholic church were visited and the much discussed Lady Head monument inspected. Mrs. Mair spoke on the early history of Portage du Fort and an outline of the early life of Chief McNab was given by Mrs. A. C. Kains. A luncheon was arranged by the society on September 23 at the Chateau Laurier in honour of the delegates to the Ontario Historical Society's annual meeting. Professor R. G. Trotter was the speaker on this occasion and took as his subject "Is Ontario American?" A Christmas card is being sold with great success by the society which depicts "Philemon Wright's mill and tavern at the Chaudière falls, 1823", painted by Henry du Vernet of the Royal Staff Corps. [SHEILA I. STEWART]

The York and Sunbury Historical Society has been engaged in the compilation of a history of the loyalist burying ground in Fredericton, making a record of all inscriptions. At a recent meeting of the society an interesting paper was read on the negro population of New Brunswick.

York Pioneer and Historical Society. The cairn erected on Yonge street by the historic sites and monuments board was dedicated under the auspices of the society. Inscribed on the bronze plaque are the following words: "Planned by Lieutenant Governor Simcoe in 1793 as a military road and commercial highway between Lakes Ontario and Huron to promote the settlement of this province, laid out and constructed by the Queen's Rangers under his orders in 1794-1796 and named in honor of Sir George Yonge, secretary of war." Dr. P. J. Robinson outlined the history of Yonge street, and his address is printed in the *Newmarket era* of Oct. 21.

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

The Provincial Archives of British Columbia has recently acquired several early historical paintings and a number of museum pieces of interest relating to the economic development of the province. Several important additions were made in 1936 to the files of official records preserved in the Archives, including a series of photostatic copies of dispatches to and from the colonial secretary in London, which were missing from the set in Victoria. The Archives now possess the series complete to 1858. Other interesting acquisitions are: the first land registry book of the old crown colony of British Columbia; two valuable volumes of records transferred to the Archives by the department of education—the minute book of the old board of education, covering the years 1865-9, and the departmental correspondence book for 1872 and 1873; records dating back to crown colony days, from the office of the collector of customs, Victoria; copies of a series of official letters and reports from Germansen creek, dated 1871-5; transcripts of a series

of valuable fort journals—six Kamloops journals, covering many of the years 1850-70; early Nanaimo records copied from Judge Howay's collection and including a series of letters from J. W. McKay to Governor Douglas, dated 1852 and 1853, and the Nanaimo journal for 1855-7; and the letter-book of John Evans, known to history as Captain John Evans, M.L.A. for Cariboo.

British Columbia Conference of the United Church of Canada, Historical Committee. The conference reports progress in its work of collecting provincial congregational histories and biographical sketches. A number of these are appearing serially in the *Western recorder*. A paper by the Rev. A. E. Roberts on "The Methodist conference, British Columbia, 1887" has been distributed in mimeographed form.

Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library. Recent interesting acquisitions to the collection are the papers of George Ironside and his son, George Ironside, jr., from about 1787 to 1870, pertaining chiefly to the operations of the British Indian department at Amherstburg on Lake Huron.

The Newberry Library, Chicago, has just published *A check list of manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer collection*, compiled by Ruth Lapham Butler (Chicago, 1937). The list comprises 1,719 items, many of which represent groups of pieces, in the following fields: North America, Spanish America, Philippine islands, Hawaiian islands, Indian languages, Philippine languages, and Hawaiian languages. Within these fields the materials include personal and official letters, miscellaneous documents, diaries, overland journeys, ethnological, historical, and geographical accounts, and transcripts of manuscripts in various Spanish-American archives.

The accessions of the year which are probably most interesting to students of American history comprise a collection of photostat maps of America, which have been reproduced from the collections of the British Museum and the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. The Newberry collections now contain reproductions of practically all maps of America which are in the British Museum, and the most important of those in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

Saint John Public Library, Saint John, N.B. The library's collection of MSS includes material on the following topics: Saint John's old and historic buildings; Saint Martin-built ships; the Saint John whaling industry; railway development in the Maritime Provinces; history of Queen's county and of Charlotte county. The library also has on file a biographical dictionary of New Brunswick families, especially those of Loyalist descent.

The Vancouver Public Library has received two typewritten MSS which are of interest to students of the British Columbia fishing industry: "Development of salmon fishing on the Fraser" by Mary E. Clark; "History of the pilchard industry off the west coast of Vancouver island" by Clement Logan. These papers were both submitted to the summer school of the University of British Columbia.

The University of Virginia Library. The Reverend William H. Laird has deposited the Heth papers (1763-1841) in the Virginia room of the library of the University of Virginia. The collection contains approximately four thousand manuscripts, being chiefly the letters, contracts, etc., of Colonel Harry Heth, dealing mainly with his business in Manchester, now a part of Richmond, during the years 1789-1841. There are interesting side-lights on the War of 1812 and on military affairs at the end of the eighteenth century.

The William L. Clements Library has published a guide to an exhibition of books, maps, and manuscripts, entitled *Michigan through three centuries*. Many of the titles are of interest to students of Canadian history.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ANGELL, NORMAN. *The defence of the empire*. London: Hamish Hamilton. [Toronto: Musson Book Co.] 1937. Pp. 245. (\$1.75) To be reviewed later.

Australia: I. Ottawa and Australian trade policy; II. The ex-German colonies; III. Australia's financial position (Round table, no. 108, Sept., 1937, 840-56).

BALDWIN, J. R. *Free action within the British Commonwealth* (Saturday night, Nov. 13, 1937, 2). Discusses the possibility that the British Empire may recognize the principle of regional groupings within itself, in connection with foreign policy.

BARNES, LEONARD. *Skeleton of the empire*. (Fact, a monograph a month, no. 3, June, 1937.) London: Fact Limited. 1937. Pp. 98. (6d.) To be reviewed later.

BENTWICH, NORMAN. *The slender judicial thread of empire* (Empire review, LXVI (441), Oct., 1937, 224-8). A review of the position of the judicial committee of the privy council as a court of appeal for the members of the British Commonwealth.

CHURCHILL, RICHARD. *The conference in retrospect* (Country guide and northwest farmer, Aug., 1937, 5, 48-9). The author analyses the imperial conference of 1937, with particular attention to Canada's attitude to economic policy and imperial defence measures.

CLARK, CUMBERLAND. *The pioneers, founders and builders of the British Empire*. London: Mitre Press. 1937. Pp. 208. (5s.)

CLARKE, FRED. *Res Britannica* (Fortnightly, n.s., no. 847, July, 1937, 14-24). An analysis of the structure of the British Commonwealth.

COATMAN, JOHN. *The imperial conference* (Political quarterly, VIII (3), July-Sept., 1937, 311-25). In the opinion of the author, the problem of co-operation in foreign policy was the most important question facing the conference of 1937.

DAFOE, JOHN W. *The imperial conference of 1937* (University of Toronto quarterly, VII (1), Oct., 1937, 1-17). An excellent interpretation of the conference.

DAWSON, ROBERT MACGREGOR (ed.). *The development of dominion status, 1900-1936*. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 466. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

The dominions and imperial defence: I. The Canadian defence dilemma; II. South Africa and defence (Round table, no. 107, June, 1937, 547-65).

Empire trade and world trade (Round table, no. 107, June, 1937, 499-518). The following aspects of the situation are discussed: the road to freer trade; the gold bloc signpost; the Oslo signpost; the German signpost; the American signpost; the commonwealth's responsibility.

HALL, HENRY L. *The colonial office: A history*. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xiv, 296. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.

HALL, WALTER PHELPS and ALBION, ROBERT GREENHALGH. *A history of England and the British Empire*. With the collaboration of JENNIE BARNES POPE. Boston, Montreal, etc.: Ginn and Co. 1937. Pp. vi, 989. (\$4.60) To be reviewed later.

- HECHT, J. S. *The case for empire trade* (United empire, XXVIII (9), Sept., 1937, 495-7).
- HODSON, H. V. *The imperial conference* (International affairs, XVI (5), Sept.-Oct., 1937, 659-75). A brief analysis of the problems which faced the imperial conference of 1937.
- The imperial conference* (Round table, no. 108, Sept., 1937, 695-708). The conference of 1937 is discussed under the following headings: discussion or decision?; foreign policy; defence; the problem of shipping.
- Imperial Conference, 1937: Summary of proceedings*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 73. See also Round table, no. 108, Sept., 1937, 888-905.
- The imperial conference: Problems of foreign policy and defence* (Bulletin of international news, June 26, 1937, 1079-83).
- JENNINGS, W. IVOR. *The abdication and the constitution* (Political quarterly, VIII (2), April-June, 1937, 165-79).
- LOWER, A. R. M. *The king and the crown* (Manitoba essays, University of Manitoba, 1937, 122-41).
- MIDGLEY, C. *From empire to a commonwealth of nations*. Exeter: A. Wheaton and Company, Paternoster Press. 1936. Pp. 64. (1s.)
- PAGANI, B. *La conferenza imperiale britannica* (Rassegna di politica internazionale, luglio, 1937, 565-98).
- PEMBERTON, R. FRANKLAND. *The imperial commonwealth: An essay on British colonial policy* (Royal Air Force quarterly, VIII (3), July, 1937, 277-390). A presentation of the main principles of British colonial policy.
- PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *The nature of political and economic development in the British dominions* (C.J.E.P.S., III (4), Nov., 1937, 489-507).
- POLLET, E. *L'empire britannique* (Revue économique internationale, April, 1937).
- T., J. S. *The imperial conference* (Dalhousie review, XVII (3), Oct., 1937, 361-4).
- VILLENEUVE, JACQUES. *La préférence impériale et le commerce des pays britanniques depuis la crise*. Paris: Librairie Technique et Economique, 17, rue de Constantinople. 1937. Pp. 232. (fr. 30)
- WALKER, ERIC A. *The study of British imperial history: An inaugural lecture delivered on 26 April 1937*. Cambridge: At the University. [Toronto: Macmillan.] 1937. Pp. 47. (75c.)
- WILLERT, Sir A. *England und das Empire: Zur Krönung und Reichskonferenz 1937* (Europäische revue, Juni, 1937, 423-32).
- WIRSING, G. *Empirekonferenz, 1937* (Tat, Leipzig, Juli, 1937, 217-29).
- WOODS, S. B. *The veto power and the Statute of Westminster* (Alberta law quarterly, II (3), April, 1937, 81-5). A brief discussion of the power of disallowance exercised by the government of Great Britain over legislation of the dominion of Canada and by the dominion over provincial legislation.

II: CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- ANGUS, H. F. (ed.). *Memorandum on Canada and the doctrine of peaceful change*. International studies conference, tenth session, Paris, June 28-July 3, 1937. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George St. 1937. Pp. iv, 152 (mimeo.). (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.

- BOGGS, S. WHITTEMORE. *Problems of water-boundary definition: Median lines and international boundaries through territorial waters* (Geographical review, XXVII (3), July, 1937, 445-56). The author gives historical and present-day examples of the difficulties of defining water-boundaries between Canada and the United States.
- Collective action: Proceedings and verbatim record, fifteenth annual conference, League of Nations Society in Canada, May 26 and 27, 1937, Hamilton, Ontario.* Including round table with representatives of United States peace organizations. (Interdependence, XIV.) 1937. Pp. xvii, 219. To be reviewed later.
- CURTIS, G. F. *Peaceful adjustment of international disputes in the Pacific: Report of the proceedings of the third study conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Ottawa, 23-24 May, 1936.* Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George St. 1937. Pp. 35.
- KING-HALL, STEPHEN. *Chatham house: A brief account of the origins, purposes, and methods of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.* London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 144. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.
- MACFARLANE, R. O. *Let's keep out of it* (Country guide and nor'west farmer, July, 1937, 6, 46). A discussion of the isolationist point of view in regard to the relation of Canada to the foreign policy of the British Empire.
- MILLER, HUNTER (ed.). *Treaties and other international acts of the United States of America.* Vol. V. *Documents 122-150: 1846-1852. Document 151: 1799.* Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 1103. Volume V of this invaluable collection contains two items of interest to Canadian students, the Oregon Treaty and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. A full chronological account of the negotiation and ratification of the treaties is given.
- PLAUNT, ALAN B. *Collective security* (Reports of the rapporteurs, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, second study conference, 1935, 8-20). A discussion of political and economic causes of war, and the organization of peace, with particular reference to Canada.
- Report on the work of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1936-1937.* Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George St. 1937. Pp. 43.
- SOWARD, F. H. *Canada and the Americas: Report of a round table of the fourth annual conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Hamilton, Ontario, May, 1937.* Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George St. 1937. Pp. 29. An analysis of the prospects of a regional organization for peace in the western hemisphere and the possibility of Canada's participating in such a study; including an examination of the Monroe doctrine.
- STONE, WILLIAM T. and EICHELBERGER, CLARK M. *Peaceful change: The alternative to war. A survey prepared for the national peace conference campaign for world economic co-operation.* New York: Foreign Policy Association, 8 West Fortieth street. 1937. Pp. 46. (25c.)
- TARR, E. J. *Canada in world affairs* (International affairs, XVI (5), Sept.-Oct., 1937, 676-97). Takes into account the fact that Canada's foreign policy is shaped by her position as a nation, as a member of the League of Nations and the British Commonwealth, and as a neighbour of the United States.
- See also entries on Canadian defence in section on History of Canada, (5) The Dominion of Canada.

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- BARNES, HARRY ELMER. *A history of historical writing.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. xiii, 434. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

- BENSON, ADOLPH B. (ed.). *The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's travels in North America*. The English version of 1770, revised from the original Swedish by the editor. With a translation of new material from Kalm's diary notes. Vols. I and II. New York: Wilson-Erickson Inc. 1937. Pp. xviii, 797. To be reviewed later.
- BURT, A. L. *The romance of Canada: A new history*. Authorized by the minister of education for use in the schools of British Columbia. Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co. 1937. Pp. 400.
- CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (comp. and ed.). *The territorial papers of the United States*. Vol. V. *The territory of Mississippi 1798-1817*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1937. Pp. ix, 815. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.
- CATTERALL, HELEN TUNNICLIFF. *Judicial cases concerning American slavery and the negro*. Vol. I. *English, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky*. Vol. II. *North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee*. Vol. III. *Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana*. Vol. IV. *New England, the middle states, and the district of Columbia*. Vol. V. *North of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi rivers, Canada and Jamaica*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926; 1929; 1932; 1936; 1937. Pp. xiv, 508; x, 661; x, 661; xi, 586; viii, 386. The first volume of this series appeared in 1926 and with the publication of the fifth volume the series is now completed. The design, as stated by the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, was "to furnish an unbiased picture of American slavery as an actual institution, social and economic" by drawing upon the court records of the states. A wide variety of subjects has appeared in each of the five volumes, ranging over the complexities of slavery as shown before the courts. In the fifth volume cases in the courts of Canada and Jamaica which arose out of the American institution are dealt with. The Canadian cases, four in number, date from 1811 to 1871. The most interesting is that of John Anderson, arrested in Brant county in 1860 charged with a murder committed in Missouri in 1853. Extradition was asked on behalf of the state of Missouri. The decision of the court of queen's bench was that under the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 and under chapter 89 of the *Consolidated statutes of Canada* the prisoner was liable to be surrendered. Justice McLean dissented. When word of the decision reached England, application was made there for a habeas corpus which was granted. Meanwhile a similar writ had been obtained from the court of common pleas in Canada. There was much discussion at the time as to the right of the English court to take action in this case, the Hon. John A. Macdonald being among those who objected. The discharge of the prisoner ended the case which had attracted widespread attention. [FRED LONDON]
- DEWITT, N. W. *Historic illusions: The evolution of the unintended in Canada* (Canadian author, XV (1), Sept., 1937, 10-3).
- FLICK, ALEXANDER, C. (ed.). *History of the state of New York*. In ten volumes. Published under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association. Vol. X. *The empire state*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 484. (\$5.00 per vol., \$50.00 the set.) To be reviewed later.
- HUTCHINSON, WILLIAM T. (ed.). *The Marcus W. Jernegan essays in American historiography by his former students at the University of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. x, 417. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- KRAUS, MICHAEL. *A history of American history*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1937. Pp. x, 607. (\$3.75)
- MORRISON, HUGH M. *History in the Canadian public-school curriculum* (Canadian historical association report, 1937, 43-50).
- NARRACHE, JEAN. *Histoires du Canada: Vies ramanchées*. Illustrations de LOUIS GAGNON. Montréal: Editions de l'A.C.-F., 1735, rue Saint Denis. 1937. Pp. 131. An amusing series of dialogues between a French Canadian of to-day and some of the great figures of Canada's past who have stepped down from their monuments to enjoy a brief glimpse of modern life.

PAULLIN, CHARLES OSCAR (ed.). *European treaties bearing on the history of the United States and its dependencies*. In continuation of the work of the late FRANCES GARDINER DAVENPORT. Vol. IV. 1716-1815. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1937. Pp. viii, 222. Volumes I-III of this series, edited by FRANCES G. DAVENPORT, were published in 1917, 1929, and 1934 respectively. Volume I (pp. vi, 387) covers the period up to 1648; volume II (pp. vi, 386) from 1648 to 1697; volume III (pp. vi, 269) from 1698-1715 (noted in C.H.R., XVII, 1936, 472). Volume IV is of particular interest to students of Canadian history in that it contains the text of the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle and of 1763 and 1783.

RAYMOND, WAYTE. *The coins and tokens of Canada: An illustrated list of all the types of Canadian coins and tokens from 1670 to date, including the official mini reports from 1858 to 1936*. New York: The author. 1937. Pp. 23. (\$2.00; paper, 50c.)

STONE, MAUD MORRISON. *This Canada of ours*. Illustrated by J. STUART MORRISON. Toronto: Musson Book Co. 1937. Pp. xiii, 376. (\$1.25)

(2) Early Discovery and Exploration

ARMSTRONG, JOHN M. *The numerals on the Kensington rune stone* (Minnesota history, XVIII (2), June, 1937, 185-8).

BOVEY, WILFRED. *The Norse discovery of America* (School, Ontario College of Education, XXVI (1), Sept., 1937, 24-8).

BREBNER, J. B. *The discovery of Drake's "Plate of Brasse" of 1579* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 72-5). An account of the discovery of a brass plate in California which is believed to have been erected by Drake.

BURFEE, LAWRENCE J. *How Canada was revealed: Presidential address* (List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, ser. 3, XXXI, 1937, liii-cii). The story of the discovery and exploration of Canada; with a well-arranged bibliography.

GREEN, PAUL. *The lost colony: An outdoor play in two acts* (with music, pantomime, and dance). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. 149. (\$2.00) A play about the English colony which settled on Roanoke island off North Carolina in 1587 and which had completely disappeared three years later when John White returned to the island.

HOLAND, HJALMAR R. *The Climax fire steel* (Minnesota history, XVIII (2), June, 1937, 188-90). In reply to an article in the March, 1937, issue of *Minnesota history* in which Mr. M. M. Quaife contends that the fire steel discovered near Climax, Minnesota in 1871 sheds no light on the question of the Kensington rune stone, Mr. Holand gives evidence to show that there may be a connection between the fire steel and the explorers mentioned on the Kensington stone.

(3) New France

BLEGEN, THEODORE C. *Fort St. Charles and the northwest angle* (Minnesota history, XVIII (3), Sept., 1937, 231-48). Mr. Blegen concludes his story of the old French fort with a plea that Americans and Canadians unite to erect a permanent historical marker on the fort's site, in view of its international historical importance.

BONNAULT, CLAUDE DE. *M. de la Galissonnière, gouverneur-général du Canada, 1747-1749* (Franco-American review, II (1), summer, 1937, 27-36). A sketch of the man who, in the author's opinion, was one of the greatest of the French governors in Canada.

Les cahiers des dix. Numéro 2. Montréal (Drummondville, P.Q.: La parole). 1937. Pp. 313. To be reviewed later.

- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *La Salle, 1669-1673* (continued) (Mid-America, XIX (4), Oct., 1937, 237-53). The movements of La Salle in America during the few years specified above as they are revealed in the document, *Récit d'un ami de l'abbé Galinée*, attributed to Renaudot.
- FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS. *Les aventures de Chevalier de Beauchêne* (*Les cahiers des dix*, no. 2, 1937, 7-33). A study of the above-mentioned novel by LeSage, which is concerned with life in Canada in the early part of the eighteenth century.
- FILTEAU, GÉRARD. *La naissance d'une nation: Tableau du Canada en 1755*. Tome I. *Géographie et institutions*; tome II. *Vie culturelle et vie économique*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de l'A.C.-F., 1735, rue Saint Denis. 1937. Pp. 207; 235. To be reviewed later.
- FRÉMONT, DONATIEN. *L'enfance de La Vérendrye: Prélude du deuxième centenaire de la découverte de l'ouest canadien* (Canada français, XXV (1), sept., 1937, 5-21). The author describes Pierre de La Vérendrye's life in Trois-Rivières from 1685 to 1697.
- LA BRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE BOUCHER de. *Pierre Boucher* (*Les cahiers des dix*, no. 2, 1937, 237-60). A biographical account of the part played by Pierre Boucher in the development of New France between 1635 and 1661.
- LE JEUNE, LOUIS. *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville*. Ottawa: Les Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1937. Pp. 253. To be reviewed later.
- TESSIER, ALBERT. *Une campagne antitrustarde il y a un siècle* (*Les cahiers des dix*, no. 2, 1937, 199-206.) An account of the struggle between the interests of the people of Trois-Rivières and the monopoly control exercised by the Vieilles Forges established in 1737.
- VATTIER, GEORGES. *Jacques Cartier et la découverte du Canada*. Préface de P.-E. FLANDIN. Illustrations de BOUISSET. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 79, Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1937. Pp. 147.
- YON, ARMAND. *Un témoin des années terribles: Jean-Baptiste d'Aleynac (1737-1790), ses campagnes au Canada, ses souvenirs* (Canada français, XXV (1), sept., 1937, 100-15). The author discusses the life of d'Aleynac and his *Mémoires*, four chapters of which are devoted to his experiences in Canada between 1755 and 1760.
- (4) **British North America before 1867**
- ABERNETHY, THOMAS PERKINS. *Western lands and the American Revolution*. (Institute monograph no. 25.) New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia. 1937. Pp. xv, 413. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- ANDERSON, JEAN RITCHIE. *Lord Durham and the constitution* (Family herald and weekly star, Montreal, Feb. 10, 1937).
- ANDREWS, CHARLES M. *The colonial period of American history: The settlements*. III. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1937. Pp. xiii, 354. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- BROUILLETTE, BENOÎT. *Le récit de Pierre-Antoine Tabeau dans le haut Missouri (1803-1805)* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 35-42). A brief account of the life of Tabeau (1755-1820) and an analysis of the report of his expedition.
- CASTELLANA, ROSALIE M. *Italian contributions toward the American Revolution*. New York: Leonardo Da Vinci Publishing House, 149 E. 34th Street. [N.d.] Pp. 7.
- CLOUSTON, J. STORER. *Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company* (Beaver, outfit 268 (2), Sept., 1937, 37-9). The third and concluding article on the Orkney islands and the important part played by Orkneymen in the early years of the company.

- CRAMER, C. H. *Duncan McArthur: The military phase* (Ohio state archaeological and historical quarterly, XLVI (2), April, 1937, 128-47). An account of the part played by this American general in the War of 1812.
- CREIGHTON, D. G. *The economic background of the rebellions of eighteen thirty-seven* (C.J.E.P.S., III (3), Aug., 1937, 322-34).
- DICKERSON, OLIVER MORTON (comp.). *Boston under military rule, 1768-1769 as revealed in A journal of the times*. Boston: Chapman and Grimes. [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders.] 1936. Pp. xiv, 137. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- DUBOIS, EMILE. *Le feu de la Rivière-du-Chêne: Etude historique sur le mouvement insurrectionnel de 1837 au nord de Montréal*. Préface de M. le sénateur JULES-EDOUARD PRÉVOST. St. Jérôme, P.Q.: The author. 1937. Pp. 341. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.
- ELLIOTT, CHARLES WINSLOW. *Winfield Scott: The soldier and the man*. Ill. with maps and photographs. New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. xx, 817. (\$5.50) To be reviewed later.
- FULTON, DEOCH (ed.). *A short tour through the United States and Canadas, 1832: The journal of Lieutenant George Kirwan Carr* (New York Public Library bulletin, XLI (10), Oct., 1937, 743-74). This diary contains the impressions of a young British officer as he travelled down the St. Lawrence and the Hudson in 1832. It is written with the raciness of youth and contains information about roads, inns, etc. There is a particularly interesting glimpse of Bishop Strachan. [J. McE.M.]
- Garrison orders, Burlington, Vermont, July 13-Aug. 4, 1813* (Moorsfield antiquarian, I (2), Aug., 1937, 79-103). Fragmentary orders copied from the regimental orderly book of the 11th and 29th regiments of American infantry throw light on the so-called Murray's raid on Plattsburgh.
- GOLDSMITH, B. H. *Tragedies of the Indian wars in New England* (Americana, XXXI (3), July, 1937, 425-60). Traces the combats between the New England colonists and the Indians from the beginning of colonization to the eve of the revolution.
- GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS. *Lafayette joins the American army*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 364. (\$3.00)
- HARPSTER, JOHN W. (ed.). *Major William Darlington's diary of service in the War of 1812* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XX (3), Sept., 1937, 197-214). Throws light on the relations between the states and the federal government of the United States, and particularly on the lack of unity within the republic at the time.
- HEADLAM, CECIL (ed.). *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, America and West Indies, 1728-1729*. Preserved in the Public Record Office. Introduction by ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1937. Pp. xlv, 632. (£1 15s.)
- HEILMAN, ROBERT BECHTOLD. *America in English fiction, 1760-1800: The influences of the American Revolution*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 480. (\$3.00)
- HOY, C. I. *John Jacob Astor: An unwritten chapter*. Boston: Meador Publishing Co. 1936. Pp. 86. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- HUBBARD, L. RON. *Buckskin brigades*. New York: Macaulay. 1937. Pp. 316. An exciting tale of greedy fur traders and their ruthless Indian foes, which describes the warfare between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'-westers for control of the north-western fur-trading territory.
- HULTZEN, CLAUDE H., sr. *Restoration of old Fort Niagara* (New York history, XVIII (4), Oct., 1937, 386-94).

- IRWIN, RAY W. *Democratising aspects of the American Revolution* (Americana, XXXI (1), Jan., 1937, 45-53). An attempt to analyse the extent to which the American Revolution was influenced by democratic principles.
- JENSEN, MERRILL. *The articles of confederation: A re-interpretation* (Pacific historical review, VI (2), June, 1937, 120-42). A discussion of constitutional questions in connection with the American Revolution and the government immediately following it.
- JOHANSEN, DOROTHY O. *William Fraser Tolmie of the Hudson's Bay Company 1833-1870* (Beaver, outfit 268 (2), Sept., 1937, 29-32). A study of the life of William Fraser Tolmie as it is revealed in his journals and diaries.
- John Jacob Astor correspondence: Fur trade with Lower Canada, 1790-1817* (Moorsfield antiquarian, I (2), Aug., 1937, 111-24). Correspondence between Astor and Pliny Moore bearing on fur-trade relations between the United States and Canada in the period prior to, and during, the War of 1812.
- LONDON, FRED. *The common man in the era of the rebellion in Upper Canada* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 76-91).
- LEVESON GOWER, R. H. C. *Later voyages for discovery of the north-west passage* (Beaver, outfit 268 (2), Sept., 1937, 23-4). An outline of the efforts made by the company from 1750 to 1800.
- LEWIS, CHARLES LEE. *The romantic Decatur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1937. Pp. [ix], 296. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- LINDQUIST, MAUDE L. and CLARK, JAMES W. (comps.). *Early days and ways in the old northwest*. New York: Scribner. 1937. Pp. 295. A collection of readings on the early history of Minnesota, including descriptions of frontier conditions, the Indians, and the fur trade.
- MACFARLANE, R. O. *The loyalist migrations: A social and economic movement (Manitoba essays, University of Manitoba, 1937, 106-21)*. The author suggests that certain social and economic forces were in some cases fundamental to the political ones in accounting for the exodus of the loyalists between 1776 and 1784.
- MACKENZIE, CECIL W. *Donald Mackenzie, "King of the northwest": The story of an international hero of the Oregon country and the Red river settlement at Lower Fort Garry (Winnipeg)*. Los Angeles: Ivan Deach, jr., 414 East 11th street. 1937. Pp. 210. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Deux régiments suisses au Canada (Les cahiers des dix, no. 2, 1937, 261-96)*. An historical account of two Swiss regiments which fought for Canada during the War of 1812.
- MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *Une révolution collégiale à Montréal il y a cent ans (Les cahiers des dix, no. 2, 1937, 35-44)*. The author discusses an uprising amongst the students at the Collège de Montréal in 1830 and press comments on the situation.
- NEW, CHESTER W. *The Rebellion of 1837 in its larger setting: Presidential address* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 5-17).
- PARIZEAU, GÉRARD. *Aperçu de la situation économique dans le Bas-Canada vers 1837* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 51-71).
- PRATT, FLETCHER. *Sword of the border* (Infantry journal, XLIV (5), Sept.-Oct., 1937, 387-93). A short sketch of General Jacob Brown's military activities at Sackett's harbour and on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812.

- ROBERTS, KENNETH (ed.). *Northwest Passage: Appendix. Containing the court-martial of Major Robert Rogers, the court-martial of Lt. Samuel Stephens and other new material.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1937. Pp. [vi], 199. See p. 435.
- ROSS, FRANK E. *American adventures in the early marine fur trade with China.* (Reprinted from the Chinese social and political science review, vol. XXI (2), July, 1937, 221-67). This is a fine condensed study of the sea-otter trade between Boston, the north-west coast, and China from 1787 till about 1825. It opens with a glance at the apocryphal voyages of de Fuca and de Fonte, and then passes to Captain James Cook whose third voyage brought knowledge of the wealth of sea-otter skins on the coast and the hungry market for them in China. After a reference to the inception of the trade by the British it deals with the advent of Boston vessels in 1788 and sketches in considerable detail the two voyages of the *Columbia*, 1787-90, 1790-3. The ingenuity of the American trader is discussed and exemplified in Ingraham's iron collars and Sturgis's ermine skins; while the voyage of the *Lelia Byrd* is given as an example of his trickery and utter disregard of Spanish rights if a sea-otter skin were in view. The paper then touches upon American poaching and smuggling on the Californian coast which increased in intensity as the sea-otter became scarcer in the more northern waters. After mentioning the foundation of Astoria as an evidence of the wide activities of John Jacob Astor, the author notes the gradual decline of the trade. This he believes was in part due to the war of 1812-4. In the opinion of this reviewer the trade died simply because for twenty-five years the sea-otter had been hunted, mercilessly and indiscriminately, all the way from Cape San Lucas to Kodiak. [F. W. HOWAY]
- RYERSON, STANLEY B. *1837: The birth of Canadian democracy.* Toronto: Francis White, 298 Avenue road. 1937. Pp. 136. (\$1.00)
- SEMMES, RAPHAEL. *Captains and mariners of early Maryland.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 856. (\$5.00) A voluminous study of early exploration on the Chesapeake coast and of the relations between Indians and whites.
- SWANSON, NEIL H. *The first rebel: Being a lost chapter of our history and a true narrative of America's first uprising against English military authority and an account of the first fighting between armed colonists and British regulars together with a biography of Colonel James Smith.* Recounted from contemporary documents. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. [Toronto: Oxford University Press.] 1937. Pp. xvi, 393. (\$3.00)
- THOMPSON, EDWARD. *The life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe.* London: Faber and Faber. 1937. Pp. xv, 439. (21s.) To be reviewed later.
- TRIGGE, A. St. L. *La chute de Québec annoncée à Londres* (B.R.H., XLIII (8), août, 1937, 247-8). The author attempts to show that Colonel John Hale and Captain James Douglas shared the honour of carrying despatches to London regarding the fall of Quebec.
- WALLACE, W. S. *The lords of the lakes and forests* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (4), autumn, 1937, 320-9). A brief account of the North West Company and some of the more important men connected with it.
- WING, Col. LEONARD F. *Ethan Allen—the soldier* (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, V (1), March, 1937, 5-21). An address delivered before a joint session of the Vermont senate and house of representatives on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of Allen's birth.

(5) The Dominion of Canada

- ASSELIN, OLIVAR. *Pensée française.* Montréal: Editions de l'A.C.-F., 1735, rue Saint Denis. 1937. Pp. 216. A collection of articles on current topics contributed by the author to various French-Canadian periodicals between 1900 and 1934.
- Canada: I. *The budget*; II. *The Anglo-Canadian trade pact*; III. *Constitutional reform*; IV. *The session in retrospect* (Round table, no. 107, June, 1937, 643-50).

- Canada: I. *Federal affairs*; II. *Provincial politics* (Round table, no. 108, Sept., 1937, 830-9).
- Canada and the privy council (Round table, no. 108, Sept., 1937, 755-64). Deals with the recent Bennett social legislation.
- Canada department of trade and commerce. *A fact a day about Canada from the dominion bureau of statistics as supplied to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. Published monthly in planographed form. 25c. per annum. Contains many miscellaneous notes on unrelated topics, mainly of current economic interest.
- Canadian defence: *What we have to defend, various defence policies*. A series of ten broadcast discussions given by the following: J. W. DAFOE, MARCUS HYMAN, E. K. BROWN, HENRI LACERTE, Mrs. R. F. McWILLIAMS, R. O. MACFARLANE, R. F. McWILLIAMS, G. V. FERGUSON, J. S. WOODSWORTH, J. B. COYNE. Kelsey Club of Winnipeg. Published by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 1937. Pp. 98. (25c.)
- Canadian Historical Association. *Report of the annual meeting held at McMaster University, Hamilton, May 24-25, 1937*. With historical papers. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1937. Pp. 107. The historical papers are listed separately in this bibliography.
- CHISHOLM, JOSEPH. *Sir Robert Borden* (Public affairs, I (1), Aug., 1937, 5-7). An obituary article on Sir Robert Borden who died on June 10, 1937.
- CORNER, HORACE C. (ed.). *Canadian almanac, 1937*. Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1937. Pp. 681.
- DAUNTLESS, MURDOCK and ERUDITE, ANDREW. *The army at bay: A discussion on national defence* (Canadian defence quarterly, XV (1), Oct., 1937, 78-83). Arguments for and against the maintenance of a permanent military force in Canada.
- The fathers of reconfederation* (Canadian forum, XVII (201), Oct., 1937, 226-8). A discussion of problems facing the royal commission appointed by the King government to investigate dominion-provincial relations.
- GLAZEBROOK, G. deT. and BENSON, WINSLOW. *Canada's defence policy: Report of round tables of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Hamilton, Ontario, May, 1937*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 St. George street. 1937. Pp. 16.
- HOOD, M. McINTYRE. *Canada has kept faith* (Maclean's magazine, L (21), Nov. 1, 1937, 11, 41-2). The author surveys Canada's record in caring for her war veterans.
- LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *My discovery of the west: A discussion of east and west in Canada*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1937. Pp. viii, 272. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *Our shoddy ideals* (Maclean's magazine, L (21), Nov. 1, 1937, 24, 39-40). The author deplores Canada's materialism and urges the adoption of a unifying national purpose.
- MACKENZIE, NORMAN A. *The privy council and recent social legislation* (Collective action, Interdependence, XIV, 1937, 103-9).
- MARTYN, HOWE. *Stresses and conflicts in Canada's economy* (Saturday night, Nov. 6, 1937, 33, 37). A survey of the problems that face the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations, commonly known as the Rowell commission.
- MONTPETIT, EDOUARD. *D'azur à trois lys d'or*. Montréal: Editions de L'A.C.-F., 1735, rue Saint Denis. 1937. Pp. 148. A collection of four essays discussing the relations between French and English in Canada: "Sommes-nous en pays britannique?"; "Les trois unités"; "L'apport du Canada français"; "Anglais-Français".

- MORIN, VICTOR. *Les origines de la Société royale (Les cahiers des dix, no. 2, 1937, 157-98)*. This account deals with the origins, models, organization, etc., of the Royal Society of Canada, instituted by the Marquis of Lorne in 1881.
- MURRAY, ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND. *Die sozialen Probleme Kanadas und Mittel und Wege für ihre Lösung*. Breslau: Buchdruckerei Sperling. 1936. Pp. 54.
- Our heritage of freedom: Being a series of broadcasts sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* by B. K. SANDWELL, F. H. UNDERHILL, G. V. FERGUSON, WILLIAM ABERHART, W. L. MAC TAVISH, R. L. CALDER, Hon. C. H. CAHAN, PAUL MARTIN, and F. R. SCOTT. Toronto: Thomas Nelson. 1937. Pp. [vii], 53. Discussions of contemporary interest on the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of access to the courts.
- PAYNE, J. LAMBERT. *Big Canadians of yesteryear* (Winnipeg free press, weekly magazine section, Jan. and Feb., 1937). A series of sketches of ten distinguished Canadians: Lord Strathcona, Sir John Macdonald, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Carling, the Hon. A. G. Blair, the Hon. H. R. Emmerson, and the Hon. W. S. Fielding. Mr. Payne was the private secretary of seven of these men.
- Preserving Canada's historic past* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 92-7). The report of the historic sites and monuments board of Canada.
- PRIDHAM, E. A. "*Ut irruant omnes*": *Synopsis of the history of the Manitoba Mounted Rifles* (Canadian defence quarterly, XV (1), Oct., 1937, 70-7).
- Principal women of America: Being the biographies of approximately two thousand two hundred women who stand pre-eminent in the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada*. Vol. II. London: Mitre Press. 1936. Pp. 733. Volume I of this work was published in 1931 and contains 1,500 biographies. Volume II, pp. 679-733, is a rather inadequate biographical dictionary of a number of Canadian women.
- ROY, RÉGIS. *Origine de l'Institut Canadien d'Ottawa* (B.R.H., XLIII (8), août, 1937, 251-5). Discusses the vicissitudes of the Canadian Institute from 1862 to 1887.
- Royal Society of Canada. *List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings, 1937* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, ser. 3, XXXI, 1937, pp. 21, clviii).
- SAGE, W. N. *Geographical and cultural aspects of the five Canadas* (Canadian Historical Association report, 1937, 28-34).
- Spotlights on Canada. The truth about Aberhart* by BURTON T. RICHARDSON; *Canada's Santa Claus: F.D.R.* by J. H. GRAY; *The C.I.O. comes to Canada* by GRAHAM SPRY; *Canada between two worlds* by the editors (Current history, XLVI (4), July, 1937, 19-35). Four articles on social credit, labour, and imperial relations.
- WALLACE, W. STEWART. *A sketch of the history of the Champlain Society*. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1937. Pp. 8.
- The working of confederation: I. A French-Canadian view* by ROGER BROSSARD; *II. A western view* by H. F. ANGUS (C.J.E.P.S., III (3), Aug., 1937, 335-54).

IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- ANDERSON, JEAN RITCHIE. *Pioneering on "the island"* (Family herald and weekly star, Montreal, Aug. 25, 1937). An account of pioneering on Prince Edward Island.
- DE COSTA, B. F. *Grand Menan: A summer reminiscence (1868)*. Ed. with introduction and notes by BUCHANAN CHARLES (Grand Manan historian IV, 1937, v-xiii, 1-28). This article is reprinted from *Rambles in Mount Desert with sketches of travel on the New England coast from Isles of Shoals to Grand Menan* published in 1871; a very pleasant historical and geographical sketch of the author's experiences on the island.

GILROY, MARION (comp.). *Loyalists and land settlement in Nova Scotia: A list compiled under the direction of D. C. HARVEY.* (Public Archives of Nova Scotia publication no. 4.) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1937. Pp. 154. (\$1.50) This list, which is as complete and as accurate as it could be made from the material available, was compiled from the land papers in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and checked with the land papers in the Nova Scotia department of lands and forests. It has been arranged (under counties) under three headings: grants, warrants, and escheats. Mr. Harvey in his preface explains that the general purpose of the publication "is to collect in as compact a form as possible all the information that has survived on Loyalist settlements in Nova Scotia and to make this accessible to the descendants who are interested. No attempt has been made to discuss the merits or demerits of the Loyalists as such; but two petitions, one of which is well-known, have been added as an appendix to show that even in 1783 the Loyalists themselves differed as to character and temper. Appendix B has been inserted because it tells something of the fate of Colonel Small's followers." The island of Cape Breton, because of the lack of available records, has been reserved for a separate study.

GRANT, J. W. *Population shifts in the Maritime Provinces* (Dalhousie review, XVII (3), Oct., 1937, 282-94). An historical survey of movements to and from the Maritime Provinces as well as within these provinces themselves.

HALLAM, MRS. W. T. *When you are in Halifax: Sketches of life in the first English settlement in Canada.* Toronto: Church Book Room, 604 Jarvis street. 1937. Pp. v, 83. To be reviewed later.

MORSE, WILLIAM INGLIS. *Local history of Paradise, Annapolis county, Nova Scotia.* Boston: Sawyer and Sons. 1937. Pp. 65. Dr. Morse, who has done so much in the interest of general history with his *Acadiensia Nova* and his William Inglis Morse collection of manuscripts and books presented to Dalhousie University, also turns his hand occasionally to local history. In his last volume he has collected interesting information from early French records, but he could have gone back to the map of Ramusio, of 1565, in which Paradise is first shown. His text covers settlement, railroad, post-office, schools, and industries. He has also delved into church records not leaving even the local grave-stones unturned, all to the benefit of historical students. [G.L.]

PAYZANT, HARRY YOUNG. *People: A story of the people of Nova Scotia.* Truro, N.S.: News Publishing Co. 1935. Pp. 369. (\$2.00) This book is a curious but interesting mixture of what the author calls "historical fact, folklore and personal observation". The history, written mainly for children, deals with early immigration and settlement in Nova Scotia. It suffers more from the sins of omission than commission, in spite of the fact that the long account of the Acadians rivals Longfellow's triumphant disregard for historical accuracy. Young people, of course, will be entertained by the fiction and may be instructed by the facts, if they can discern the borderline between the two. Their parents will get satisfaction out of the stories and observations on later periods and aspects of Nova Scotian life. [J. S. M.]

The two Uniackes: Richard John and James Boyle (Nova Scotia journal of education, VIII (5), Sept., 1937, 614-7). A biographical account of these two men who played an important part in the public life of Nova Scotia from 1774-1853.

(2) The Province of Quebec

ANDERSON, JEAN RITCHIE. *Scots in French Canada; In Lower Canada a century ago; United empire loyalists in Quebec* (Family herald and weekly star, Montreal, Nov. 25, 1936; Jan. 20, 1937; Sept. 1, 1937).

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Les débuts du barreau de la province de Québec (Les cahiers des dix, no. 2, 1937, 207-35).*

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Québec où survit l'ancienne France.* Ill. de MARJORIE BORDEN. Québec: Librairie Garneau, 47, rue Buade. 1937. Pp. [vii], 176. To be reviewed later.

- BOLDUC, EVELYN. *Manuel de l'étiquette courante parmi la bonne société canadienne-française*. [Ottawa: The author, 191 Macleod street.] 1937. Pp. 127 (ii). This little essay on good manners is sensible and written with a fine scholarly flavour and a certain dry humour. It contains interesting references to the history of manners and customs, as well as much useful information regarding those of our day and age. The author is a daughter of a former speaker of the senate, and herself holds an important position in the civil service; and her chapters on official life in Ottawa are therefore particularly valuable. She writes of correct behaviour in church, in public, in business, and while travelling; there are notes on how to make presentations, on correspondence, on manners at table, on customs regarding marriages, baptisms, and funerals; there is a chapter on paying formal visits, on club procedure and club banquets; and remarks on the art of conversation which will make most readers blush at least once.
- FOLEY, ARTHUR. *Breezy adventure*. Boston: Bruce Humphries. 1935. Pp. 213. (\$2.00) A travel book which includes a chapter on "Primitive Gaspé" and touches on the author's travels in Quebec and Newfoundland.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Coins historiques du Montréal d'autrefois (Les cahiers des dix, no. 2, 1937, 115-55)*.
- Quebec department of municipal affairs, trade and commerce. *Statistical year book, 1936*. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1937. Pp. xxxiii, 450. The principal additions to the present *Year book* are: in the chapter on administration, a table showing the registration and votes polled in the elections of November, 1935, and the partial revision of the text pertaining to colonization; in the section on commerce, an estimate of retail trade in the province since 1931; and there is also added a detailed survey of insurance business.
- Sherbrooke daily record*, July 31, 1937. Special edition to celebrate Sherbrooke's centenary celebration. Contains much interesting information concerning the history and growth of the city and its vicinity.
- SIME, J. G. *In a Canadian shack*. Toronto: Macmillan. 1937. Pp. [vii], 241. (\$2.00) In her description of the life and countryside of St. Amiel, in the province of Quebec, the author recreates the atmosphere of a French-Canadian village and interprets French-Canadian civilization for the English Canadian.
- TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Montréal*. (Albums canadiens.) Montréal: Lévesque. 1936. Pp. 192. To be reviewed later.
- TAYLOR, ERNEST M. *History of Brome county, Quebec, from the dates of the grants of land therein to the present time with records of some early families*. Vol. II. Montreal: John Lovell and Son. Published under the auspices of the Brome County Historical Society. 1937. Pp. xvi, 297. Volume I of this history was published in 1908. The author, now in his eighty-ninth year, is to be congratulated for completing the work. As he says in his preface the book is rather of "the scrap book type" but it includes a great deal of detailed information with regard to the various facts of this county and its chief families. There are a number of references to the materials in the Brome County Historical Museum and to the work of the county's historical society. A picture of this attractive museum building is given.
- (3) **The Province of Ontario**
- ANDERSON, JEAN RITCHIE. *A servant of church and state* [Strachan]; *Governor by misadventure* [Sir Francis Bond Head]; *When rebellion flared up*; *Battle of Gallows hill*; *William Lyon Mackenzie's escape*; *A memory of Brock*; *Niagara and the loyalists* (Family herald and weekly star, Montreal, March 3, 1937; March 10, 1937; April 14, 1937; April 28, 1937; May 26, 1937; June 16, 1937, Oct. 27, 1937).
- Fort William times-journal*, Feb. 23, 1937. Golden jubilee edition. Sidelights on development and history of Fort William and district during the last half-century.

- JOHNSTON, HENRY S. *The Thousand islands of the St. Lawrence river: With descriptions of the scenery, and historical quotations of events, and reminiscences, with which they are associated.* Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1937. Pp. 142. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.
- MORRISON, EDITH LENNOX and MIDDLETON, J. E. *William Tyrrell of Weston.* Toronto: Macmillan. 1937. Pp. xv, 152. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- ROBERTS, V. M. *Toronto harbour* (Canadian geographical journal, XV (2), Aug., 1937, 89-105). A brief sketch of the development of the harbour from 1911 to the present time.
- ROBINSON, P. J. *Yonge street* (Newmarket era, Oct. 21, 1937, 6). This outline of the history of Yonge street was prepared for the unveiling at the Summit Golf Club, of the bronze tablet erected by the historic sites and monuments board of Canada under the auspices of the York Pioneer and Historical Society.
- (4) **The Prairie Provinces**
- BRITNELL, G. E. *The rehabilitation of the prairie wheat economy* (C.J.E.P.S., III (4), Nov., 1937, 508-29). The author discusses various measures which might be adopted in a prairie conservation plan.
- *The Saskatchewan debt adjustment programme* (C.J.E.P.S., III (3), Aug., 1937, 370-5). A discussion of debt adjustment legislation proposed by Premier Patterson on September 28, 1936.
- DOUGLAS, WILLIAM. *The first days of the Red river settlement* (Winnipeg free press, magazine section, running serially from Aug. 7 to Sept. 18, 1937).
- EGGLESTON, WILFRID. *The people of Alberta* (Canadian geographical journal, XV (4), Oct., 1937, 213-22). A brief sketch of the racial origins and characteristics of the inhabitants of Alberta.
- *What of the drought area?* (Dalhousie review, XVII (3), Oct., 1937, 275-81). A brief account of reports on the situation in the west made by a number of experts from 1857 to the present day.
- FERGUSON, G. V. *The outlook for the west* (Queen's quarterly, XLIV (4), autumn, 1937, 371-9). A discussion of reconstruction plans for the west with special reference to the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act.
- GIRAUD, M. *A note on the half-breed problem in Manitoba* (C.J.E.P.S., III (4), Nov., 1937, 541-9). An account of economic and social conditions among the half-breeds living in the vicinity of the Red river valley.
- MAGRATH, C. A. *The Galt's father and son: Pioneers in the development of southern Alberta.* Lethbridge: Lethbridge (Alberta) herald. N.d. Pp. 64. The city of Lethbridge was founded by Sir Alexander T. Galt, and his son, Elliott Torrance Galt, directed the enterprises that opened up southern Alberta. In two sketches, one on E. T. Galt and the other a gathering together of some of his reminiscences of Western Canada, Mr. Magrath has made a distinct contribution to the history of southern Alberta.
- MEADE, EDWARD F. *The Canadian prairies* (Empire review, LXVI (440), Sept., 1937, 166-70).
- MITCHELL, ROSSLYN BROUGH. *The early doctors of Manitoba.* (Reprinted from Canadian Medical Association journal, nos. 32 and 33, 1935.) Winnipeg: The author, 302 Medical arts bldg. 1935. Pp. 21.
- MORTON, ARTHUR S. *The British dominions: Canada.* VIII. *Alberta* (Landmark, XIX (10), Oct., 1937, 509-16). A brief historical survey of the province.
- MORTON, W. L. *The Red river parish: Its place in the development of Manitoba* (Manitoba essays, University of Manitoba, 1937, 89-105).

OSBORNE, M. S. *The architectural heritage of Manitoba (Manitoba essays, University of Manitoba, 1937, 53-87)*. The author discusses historical and climatic forces which have influenced the development of architecture in western Canada.

WAINES, W. J. *Problems of public finance in the Prairie Provinces* (C.J.E.P.S., III (3), Aug., 1937, 355-69). An examination of provincial and municipal finance in the light of the fluctuations of net agricultural income.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Lieutenant Jeremy Pinch* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (3), Sept., 1937, 323-7). The early history of the Oregon country is discussed briefly in connection with the recent discovery in London of an important document relating to Lieutenant Jeremy Pinch.

CHEVIGNY, HECTOR. *Lost empire: The life and adventures of Nikolai Petrovich Resánov*. New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada.] 1937. Pp. [x], 356. (\$2.75) The Russian settlement at Sitka sound and the activities of the Russian-American fur-trading company in the early part of the last century form a part of the background for this historical romance.

ELLIOTT, T. C. *From Rendezvous to the Columbia* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (3), Sept., 1937, 355-69). An account of the route taken by the Protestant missionaries from the Rocky mountains to the Columbia in 1836-8.

FARRAR, VICTOR J. *The annexation of Russian America to the United States*. Washington, D.C.: W. F. Roberts Co. 1937. Pp. viii, 142. To be reviewed later.

Kamloops board of trade (comp.). *Kamloops, British Columbia: souvenir of 125th anniversary celebrations: From trading post to city of opportunity, 1812-1937*. N.p. [Pp. 16]. The historical portion of the booklet has been compiled from the records of Mr. G. D. Brown, jr.

Kamloops 1812-1937: A history. Comp. and ill. by the Junior Historical Club of the Kamloops High School under the direction of Mr. F. H. JOHNSON. Kamloops: Junior Historical Club. 1937. Pp. v, 107 (mimeo.). See p. 454.

The Kamloops sentinel, special issue, Sept. 3, 1937, contains: two surveys of missionary effort in Kamloops and district, "The Catholic church in Kamloops" by Sister MARY STELLA; and "Glimpses of Protestant church history" by the Rev. J. C. GOODFELLOW; and "Biographical notes on Joseph La Rocque who founded Fort Shuswap", the French text of which was supplied by Mr. ALFRED LAROCQUE, of Montreal, and translated by His Honour, Judge J. D. SWANSON.

MCCURDY, JAMES G. *By Juan de Fuca's strait: Pioneering along the northwestern edge of the continent*. Portland, Ore.: Metropolitan Press. 1937. Pp. [vi], 312. To be reviewed later.

RALEY, G. H. *A monograph of the totem-poles in Stanley park, Vancouver, British Columbia*. Vancouver. July, 1937. Pp. 24. Illustrations of the various poles are given, and stories connected with them briefly told.

Okanagan Historical Society. *Seventh report*. Vernon, B.C.: The society. 1937. Pp. 51. Contains the following articles: "Princeton place names" by JOHN C. GOODFELLOW; "Over the Penticton trail" by BERNARD LEQUIME; "The Welby stage coach" by JESSIE EWART BIRD; "Why the Okanagan is a dry belt" by GEORGE W. JOHNSON; "The Manson mountain grave" by JOHN C. GOODFELLOW; "Canada kept faith" by L. NORRIS; "The log cabin at Summerland" by J. W. S. LOGIE; "The gold brick robbery at Camp McKinney" by ARTHUR K. W. COSENS.

PERRY, M. EUGENIE. *Victoria's pageant of the years* (United empire, XXVIII (10), Oct., 1937, 565-8). The history of Victoria, B.C., is told in brief.

PULTON, ERIC J. *The proposed British Columbia mint* (Canadian banker, XLV (1), Oct., 1937, 34-40). An account of the quarrel between Sir James Douglas, governor of British Columbia, and Captain Gosset, treasurer of the colony, about the establishment of a mint proposed in 1861.

The Vernon news, Vernon, B.C., special issue, Oct. 21, 1937, pp. 82, deserves special mention. It is profusely illustrated and reviews the history of practically every point around the Okanagan lake, north from Kamloops on the east and Summerland on the west.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

British Canadian Arctic expedition, 1936-39 (Geographical journal, XC (2), Aug., 1937, 160-1). A brief account of the work of this expedition from August, 1936, to February, 1937.

CAMPBELL, WILLIAM. *Arctic patrols: Stories of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1936. Pp. vi, 335.

Canada department of mines and resources, lands, parks and forests branch. *Canada's western northland: Its history, resources, population and administration*. Assembled by W. C. BETHUNE. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 162. To be reviewed later.

CHRISTIAN, EDGAR. *Unflinching: A diary of tragic adventure*. With an introduction and conclusion by B. DEW ROBERTS and a preface by Major Hon. J. J. ASTOR, M.P. London: John Murray. [Toronto: Musson Book Co.] 1937. Pp. xi, 156. (\$1.75) To be reviewed later.

CLIFTON, VIOLET. *The book of Talbot*. New York: Harcourt, Brace. 1933. Pp. 439. A curious sort of biography of Talbot Clifton, whose adventures touch on Canada (Alaska, the barren lands, Lena river).

CRERAR, T. A. *The natural resources of Canada* (Canadian defence quarterly, XV (1), Oct., 1937, 59-66). Canada's minister of mines and resources discusses Canada's forest wealth and the resources of the North West Territories.

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Though the book is well printed and bound, the number of misprints and errors is disconcerting. Such slips as Joan Perez for Juan Perez, Bella Carlo for Bella Coola, and Audrey Colville for Andrew Colville are inexcusable and several of the most familiar dates in north-west history are given wrongly. Cook did not arrive in 1776 and Fraser did not establish the first post west of the Rockies in 1806. Nor, it should be added, did Fraser go "down the true Columbia" in 1808. [W. KAYE LAMB]

VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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VIII. GENEALOGY

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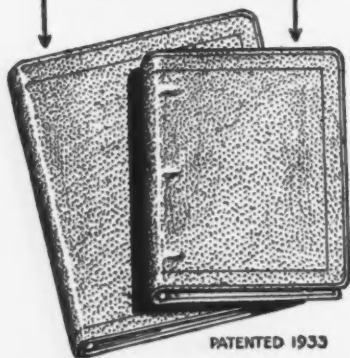
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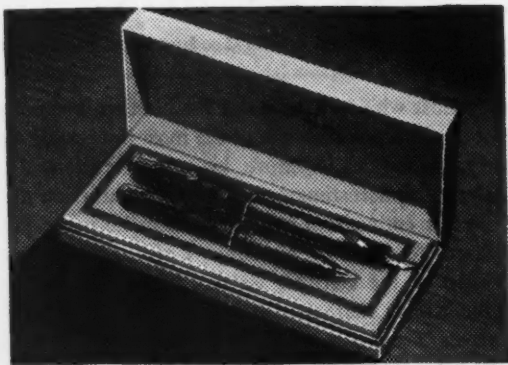
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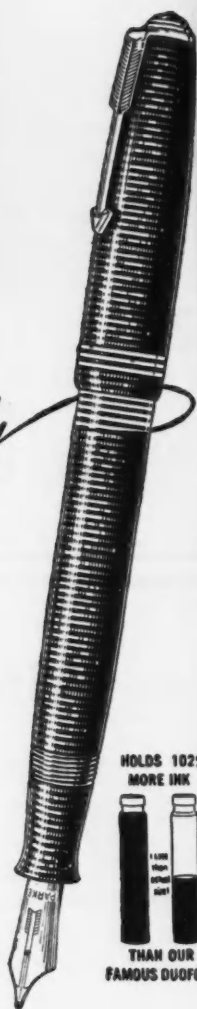
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